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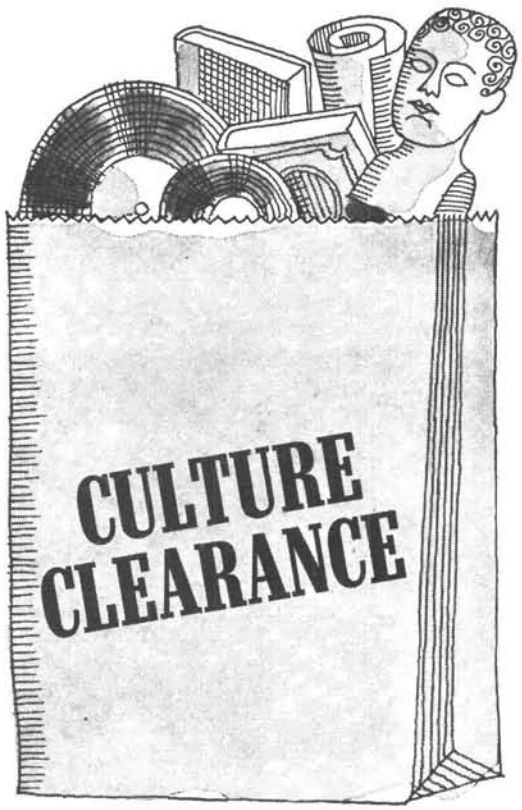

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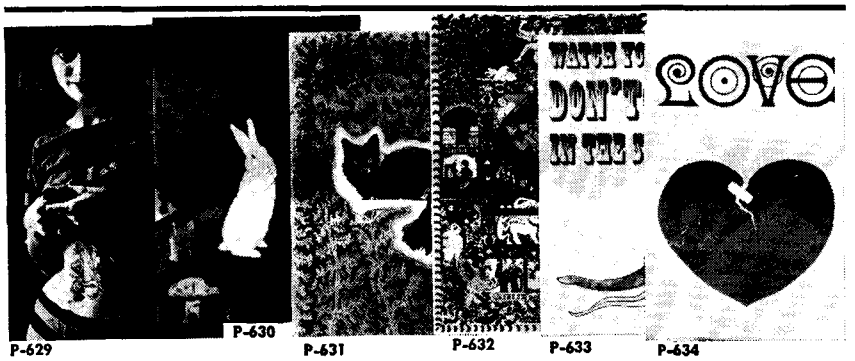

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T.R.B. from Washington

Lost Faces

★ Tension grows here. Mr. Johnson says we're doing well in Vietnam; the public isn't convinced. A mob besieges Rusk in New York. A pastor preaches at the President at Williamsburg, Va., (execrable taste, we thought).

News is sour. Student riots. Endless petitions. Four deserters in Japan. All on TV. Three freed prisoners from Hanoi. More TV. (Brainwashed? asks press). General Hershey sticks in his oar. Punish student protesters by instant induction! That degrades the army, the draft, the country; the draft is already morally lacking for it is patently discriminatory; university graduate schools are clogged today with Loophole Soldiers.

Country confused. Fat and troubled. Only 23 percent now approve LBJ handling of war. His popularity down to 38 percent. Yes, but the next figure on same poll is baffling: 53 percent oppose any bomb pause. How reconcile these answers? Our interpretation: public wants out; it won't accept national humiliation. Ho Chi Minh should note that; it's important. He can bargain better now than later perhaps. Nation yearns to save face but it won't (we guess) quit.

It's now almost universally agreed that we made a blunder in ever getting into Asia so far. But how to get out? Few except the most roaring doves favor instant withdrawal. Ho may be misreading the doves' olive branch at a tragic cost to his tortured country. ("But Mr. Johnson won't negotiate," some say. We think he would now. Maybe we're wrong, but we think it is vital to him politically.)

Johnson's best political line now is to be patient, noble. Like Lincoln. Can't manage it. When he gets out to make Truman give-em-hell speeches he shows irk not against Republicans (as Truman did) but against critics generally. He swings at opponents who, more and more, are the majority: at those who make war "a topic of cocktail parties, office arguments, or debate from the comfort of some distant sidelines." Why, that's you and me! Imputation is that critics aren't quite patriotic.

Gen. Westmoreland comes back. Fair enough, if it's for consultation; but it's apt to be a bit of political flag-waving, as well. Ambassador Bunker back, too. Good man, Bunker. Tall, white-haired, pink-cheeked, calm, convinced. Things are going fine in Vietnam, computer-wise. The kill-ratio, weapons capture, defections, population control, road control (by day, anyway), all statistics look promising. Body count, body count, who's got the body count? South Vietnamese Army (ARVN) fine little fighters, particularly from 8 to 4. (Enemy fights 24 hours.)

Well, figures are fine on an IBM. But this is a battle for men's minds. Cliché to say it, but it's basic; nationalism is the strongest emerging force of the century. Viet Cong have identified themselves largely with nationalism, with social revolution. Americans are foreign intruders.

But our motives are pure; we are not colonial power! We will take out our troops, LBJ categorically promised at Manila in October 1966, within six months of a peace settlement! Sagacious James Reston, *NYTimes* correspondent, wrote flatly last week of that pledge, "I believe President Johnson is perfectly sincere and would go through with it."

Well, maybe. Let's say the President *does* believe it. But we are spending lives, and $2.5 billion monthly, to build a vast base and a client government. Could we quit in six months? Could we quit in view of our goal of erecting a permanent barrier against Rusk's "billion Chinese armed with nuclear weapons"? Would Congress let us pull out after six months?

The sour alternatives to which we are heading seem unacceptable to any politician: either let Saigon go down the drain or stay indefinitely in Vietnam. And the irony of it all is that if we had left the North Vietnamese alone they would probably be our strongest supporters by now against the very Chinese of whom they have been suspicious for 1,000 years.

200,000,001

★ It's fun on an auto to see the mileage numbers all come to 40,000, say. At 14½ seconds after 11 a.m. Monday, Nov. 20, the nine digits of the census clock in the Department of Commerce will show total population of 200,000,001. It took us about 50 years to get our latest 100 million; will take us 40 to get our next. At that, the census clock is running slow. It's now agreed the 1960 census missed about 5.7 million people, mostly youths, often Negroes, frequently jobless. Probably we actually hit the 200 million mark back in 1964-5 when nobody was looking. We're the most affluent 200-million on earth, and the lowest one-fifth of our population gets only 5 percent of the total income.

Strom Thurmond's States Rights Party in 1948 took four states – Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. He got 2.38 percent of the popular vote and 39 electors. Henry Wallace on the Progressive Party got 2.38 percent of the popular vote and no electors. But Wallace took enough votes from Truman in NY to give it to Dewey, and he may have given Dewey Michigan and Maryland, too. The Truman-Dewey race was close; 49 percent to 45 percent of the popular vote.

Now another four party race seems shaping for 1968.

There will be: (1) Mr. Johnson, (2) the GOP nominee, (3) George Wallace, and (4) a peace candidate, we expect. Wallace would take Republican votes in the South; the peace candidate Democratic votes in the North. The elections on November 7 showed a depressingly large white backlash in Boston, Ohio and Indiana, waiting for demagogue George Wallace to gobble up. The crypto-racist Mrs. Hicks of Boston, for example, got almost half the white vote. Riots next summer would aid Wallace.

Projections often are silly but on the basis of present probabilities Wallace might win 75 to 100 electors, almost certainly enough in a close D-R race to throw the election into the House.

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No Margarine Either

It's "pure bunk" to say there can't be a proper war on poverty in America because of the war in Vietnam. So said the President in New York on November 8. Nevertheless, Congress seems unwilling to offer a penny more for poverty programs than was spent last year – $1.6 billion, exactly half the country's cosmetics spending. The main excuse for stinginess is, of course, the extreme costliness of the Vietnam war – around $30 billion. Already there has been a five months' drag in funding poverty projects that has produced havoc and frustration among the 1,050 community action programs around the country. Some agencies, having exhausted their funds, had no option but to close down. No butter, no margarine either.

Last week, Senator Javits sought to stem the disruption of hundreds of poverty programs by attaching an amendment to the regular military construction appropriations bill. The amendment would have let poverty spending limp on at least through the end of November, by which time Congress may have come through with more money. His proposal, however, was ruled out of order. To test his colleagues' resolution, the senator from New York begged that the rules be suspended. His plea was rejected, 44 votes to 31. Opponents cried in alarm that Javits' proposal would "jeopardize" the military bill. And this could not be risked, since the $2.1-billion measure includes $75 million for construction in Vietnam.

So it may be "pure bunk" that we can't fight the two wars at once, but it's "pure bunk" also to think that we will. The concept of a war on poverty reached its apogee in Mr. Johnson's speech at Howard University on June 4, 1965, when he spoke passionately about what he called "the revolution of the Negro American." But in that same summer month, the serious escalation of our military effort began. The President still makes rhetorical passes at poverty. In New York this month, he talked about future model cities where "the races can live together in friendship, where a life of poverty is not the inevitable fate of children who are born into it." He even insisted the only obstacle he can perceive blocking this happy development would be "if we ever yield to the forces of paralyzing dissension." Dissension is a word with a special connotation these days; Mr. Johnson habitually uses it as a lash on the backs of people who oppose his policy in Vietnam. For him to use it in connection with "model cities" almost made it sound as if he now imagines that the critics of his Vietnam war also oppose his war on poverty. Perhaps it was a significant

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Freudian slip, for long ago Mr. Johnson in his own mind substituted the Asian war for the domestic war. On March 25, this journal said the President had kissed off the original poverty program by having asked Congress to tie local community action agencies to city hall, which we said would "turn the whole program into a handy patronage device." This handing over control of poverty programs to city machines and rural courthouses rapidly became the minimum price paid by the Administration in order to have any poverty bill at all this session. Some Republicans scathingly called it "the boss and boll weevil amendment." The Administration needed the bribe of local control to persuade Southern Democrats to help it beat off other amendments that would have killed the program altogether. Dishonor was preferred to death, presumably on the argument that while there's life there's still hope; but the poverty program as now vindictively amended has only a fitful flickering life at best. The poor have been ordered to stay in line, or else. They'll get no aid, financial or legal, if they're counted among protesters. And poverty workers, too, are barred, by another House amendment, passed last week, from assisting or participating in any protest demonstration, picketing or "similar group activities." These amendments raise grave constitutional issues.

Among the boldest poverty warriors in Congress have been Senators Javits, Clark, Morse and the Kennedy brothers. They have urged that more money be spent, that the Office of Economic Opportunity continue in charge of local poverty projects, and that in addition there should be an emergency jobs program, to last two years and cost $2.8 billion. This last was aimed at hopeless unemployment in the ghettos, where one in every four or five young able-bodied Negroes hasn't got a job or any prospect of one, in spite of the economic boom that is adding $15 billion to the country's already vast wealth, every quarter, regular as clockwork. There could be regular work too for hundreds of thousands, just rebuilding the ghettos, but money is not forthcoming for that. The Administration opposed the emergency jobs proposal. It preferred a "test program" to help any firms that may be found willing to risk setting up in business in riot-torn ghettos. One reason for the preference is that it's a lot cheaper: only $40 million against $2.8-billion. Precisely because Vietnam is so costly, money has become all important, to the Administration and to most of Congress. The Democratic chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, George Mahon from Texas, let it be known that whatever sum was finally authorized for the war on poverty, he wouldn't supply more than $1.6 billion. Sargent Shriver has threatened that he personally will refuse to "continue a fraud," if insufficient money is forthcoming for the war on poverty. But what's sufficient? Last year, $1.6 billion was evidently regarded by Congress as ample, and was accepted by Shriver; after all, it's more than the $1.485 billion that went into the production last year of Cadillacs, Lincolns and Imperials.

Congress insists henceforth on having mayors and other local pooh-bahs seated side by side with the representatives of the poor on community action boards. Such a change in the local arrangements needn't hurt the poverty program – more of those mayors are going to be black – provided the program they're in charge of isn't the unfunded fraud Shriver now suspects it has become. At least some mayors, including Republican ones, are aware that the lost lives and estimated $270 million damage in 27 cities that riots engulfed this summer are likely to be repeated on a larger scale next year if nothing's done. And even in the darkest South, the courthouses are sluggishly becoming conscious of a fast-growing Negro vote. But both the urgency and the dimensions of poverty continue to be obscured by the enormous drain on our funds, our emotions, our thoughts and loyalties of the war in Vietnam and the consequent nightmare, to the financially orthodox, of a budgetary deficit of $18 billion, or $29 billion (depending which budgetary yardstick is chosen). If attention hadn't got so focused on Vietnam, the lesson of the ghetto riots would by now be well on the way to being learned. There would be fuller appreciation that much of the problem has to do with the fantastic migration to the cities, in only 10 years, of fully 10 million Americans, many of them Negroes and almost all of them bitterly poor and virtually illiterate as well as unskilled in urban work. That cityward migration still goes on, at a rate of about 400,000 a year. New York City, to pick the biggest instance, makes welfare payments totaling close to $1 billion a year to 670,000 people (mostly children), and immigration adds 12,000 more unfortunates every month to the city's welfare rolls. Unless there is positive action on a very large scale, the kids now going on welfare are going to grow up into adults on welfare, and this country is going to have a huge urban proletariat, largely black and inheriting poverty like a birthmark.

In spite of the vast cityward migration that has occurred, still 40 percent of poor American families remain semi-rotting down on the farm. The total of poverty in this rich country is not fewer than 32 million people, which means a poverty population that is twice the number of Canadians, and larger than most of the underdeveloped nations that get foreign aid. All of America's numerous poor aren't as badly off as Bolivian peasants. But many are appallingly close. Last year, the Advisory Council on Public Welfare reported that 7.4 million Americans, half of them children,

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were struggling to exist on public assistance payments "so low and uneven that the government is, by its own standards and definitions, a major source of the poverty on which it has declared unconditional war." When Mr. Johnson declared that war he really seemed to mean it, as did Congress when in 1964 it whooped through the Economic Opportunity Act with enthusiasm and acclaim. Vietnam has taken its place and destroyed their vision.

Black Out

"McCloskey Torpedoes 'Good Ship Lollipop'" was the way one California paper announced that a young attorney and marine hero who campaigned for a return to the Geneva Accords, reunification of Vietnam, and a staged deescalation had defeated Shirley Temple Black in San Mateo County's special congressional election. Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey received 52,878 of the 153,863 votes cast; throughout a county that is economically, ethnically and racially heterogeneous his strength was consistent. He was the first Republican since 1932 to carry predominantly Negro areas, yet he also ran ahead in the lush suburbs of Hillsborough and Woodside. Mrs. Black (34,521 votes) failed to carry her own town or precinct.

McCloskey's triumph was a product of intensive precinct work by 3,000 volunteers and a campaign chest that eventually totaled $121,678 and was used to buy exposure in newspapers, and on radio and television, with which to counteract the avalanche of free publicity given Shirley Temple by all the media – including several minutes of intimate glimpses of Shirley and her family on the Huntley-Brinkley show on election eve.

A half-hour, unrehearsed "Meet the Press" type TV show and innumerable coffee hours and candidates' nights introduced McCloskey to the voters. His Vietnam position brought the initial surge of support that made him Mrs. Black's foremost challenger.

McCloskey's stand on Vietnam was important in two ways. Many of his supporters, including disaffected Democrats, were attracted by the substance of his views, but others may have been impressed more by the careful reasoning and lack of sloganeering with which he articulated them. He also had the endorsements of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Generals Shoup and Gavin, and of J. Irwin Miller, *Esquire's* presidential nominee.

In mid-campaign, when things looked a bit bleak for Mrs. Black, the San Francisco PR firm of Whitaker and Baxter was brought in for a salvage operation that may have helped sink the ship faster. In the final week of the campaign two desperate moves backfired, a debate and a letter. She had previously refused to appear in public with fellow candidates, and that evasiveness brought editorial criticism and cost her votes. Then she agreed to debate, but "in the interest of party unity," only against her Democratic opponents. At the debate, boos greeted her statements such as, "How can you say 'Stop the bombing' when you can make a case that it hasn't started?" The letter, scarcely calculated to advance party unity, was sent to "Fellow Republicans" by five members of her campaign committee. It alleged, among other things, that McCloskey's stand on Vietnam would lead to "a slaughter unparalleled since the days of Nazi Germany."

In a December 12 run-off McCloskey will face Roy Archibald, who came in fourth but was the leading Democrat (William Draper finished third). Archibald has been active for many years in local government. He is the West Coast director of the National Education Association and was their Washington representative for six years. On Vietnam he wants to "assume a strong defensive line, hang on tight, and negotiate from this position of strength" without concurrent withdrawal. This will be a point of contention in the campaign, and a series of debates on this and other issues is envisaged. McCloskey's strong showing in the first round and the county's Republican tradition make his victory probable.

Max the Maximizer

The Administration is getting support for its war where it can, and making the most of what it has. For instance, General Maxwell Taylor, former US Ambassador to South Vietnam, wrote recently that whereas only 20 nations "contributed to the defense of Korea," there are 37 nations "assisting in some way the South Vietnam government." What does that mean?

The State Department has a list of "Free World Assistance to Vietnam" as of October 1, 1967. "Thirty-one nations besides the United States are assisting Vietnam under the Free World Assistance Program," the Department declares. "Six other countries not considered part of the FWA program and the United Nations also assist, and promises of help have come from three other nations. Five Asian countries now have almost 60,000 troops on the ground in Vietnam."

The Department breaks down the assistance thus: Only a few of the 37 nations have supplied combat troops (Australia, 5,750; Korea, 48,000; New Zealand, 350). Thailand has sent 2,200 men, including a combat brigade; the Philippines, a 2,000-man military engineering unit. These countries account for nearly all the military aid.

Denmark's only acknowledged contribution is an un-

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specified amount of medical supplies and an offer to train 12 Vietnamese nurses back in Denmark. Brazil has sent "a substantial quantity" of medical supplies and some coffee. Tunisia has "made available" 15 to 20 scholarships for Vietnamese. Ireland, Israel, Norway, Pakistan, Laos have provided flood relief.

More than half of the 37 nations have concentrated their assistance on medical care, supplies and facilities ranging from five TB centers promised for Saigon by the Dutch, to an ambulance from Costa Rica, to a hospital ship and several million dollars worth of pharmaceuticals from West Germany. The Swiss have provided microscopes for the University of Saigon plus an 11-man medical team through the Red Cross. Turkey has given medicine and a "substantial amount of cement"; Luxembourg, plasma and blood transfusion equipment.

Malaysia has trained Vietnamese police in counter-insurgency, and Nationalist China provided an 18-man psychological warfare team, but outside the Far East nearly all assistance has been nonmilitary, even from nations which have contributed most substantially. West Germany has extended credits amounting to more than $20 million for import of German products such as machine tools and fertilizer, for construction of a "major industrial complex at An Hoan-Nong Son" and a slaughterhouse at Saigon-Cholon. British economic aid, estimated at more than $2 million over the past two years, has been used primarily for education and medical purposes. Canada's $6 million in development assistance has gone to medical care, food, education. France, which has spent $115 million in assistance to South Vietnam since 1956, has allocated its money to economic, technical, educational and medical assistance, credits for import of French industrial equipment, and industrial construction.

Finally, the United Nations and its agencies have concentrated on social and economic development (technical assistance, maternal and child health, labor administration, educational planning, etc.).

The United States is spending about $30 billion a a year and has nearly half a million troops in Vietnam. But we are not alone. So says General Taylor, and he is not wrong, merely misleading.

Killjoy Gavin

Last week's Louis Harris poll, showing that Lyndon Johnson's handling of the war has the confidence of only 23 percent of the people, coincided with bursts of official optimism. "How many nights must we suffer the nightmare of war?" the President asked on Veterans Day. His answer – "Not many more nights." Two days later, the Vice President chirped: "By all measures – roads open, villages cleared, enemy casualties and desertions – we are winning militarily." Then Ambassador Bunker announced that, "We are making steady progress." After which General Westmoreland said: "I am very, very encouraged. I have never been more encouraged in the four years that I have been in Vietnam. We are making real progress. Everyone is encouraged."

Not everyone. Lt. Gen. James Gavin, just returned from Vietnam, is a holdout. He doesn't think we'll be "able to extricate ourselves for a long period of time; five years, possibly even 10 years." He thinks bombing is "a very immoral and militarily unproductive thing"; he warns that "if we continue at this rate, Ho Chi Minh will be absolutely in the arms of Peking, and will be unable to act on his own."

Armed and Dangerous

The FBI says crime has increased 62 percent in the past six years and by 17 percent in the first half of 1967. There's a robbery somewhere in the country every half minute; a car is stolen every minute; a rape is committed every three minutes and a murder every hour. The accuracy of the FBI's crime reports from which these statistics come has been questioned. But it is beyond dispute that there is widespread concern about crime in this country and that it's justified. The President's Crime Commission reported in February that a survey it did in high crime areas of two large cities found that 43 percent of those interviewed were afraid to be on the streets at night. And the Commission concluded that, "the most significant action by far that can be taken against crime is action designed to eliminate slums and ghettos, improve education, to provide jobs, to make sure every American is given the opportunities and the freedom that will enable him to assume his responsibilities. We will not have dealt effectively with crime until we have alleviated the conditions that stimulate it."

Central to any crime control program, therefore, is a poverty program and an education program. But something can also be done to make police practices more humane, screen out the sadists, better train the police, pay them more, improve the technology of police work. President Johnson's crime bill, somewhat grandiosely called the "Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967" was intended to provide $50 million to do this – help police locally develop new techniques and better trained policemen. The bill did not aim at wiping out crime or fear or the root causes of lawlessness. Still, it was not a bad bill until Congress got hold of it. It is now armed and dangerous.

The House in August passed an amended version of the White House bill. The principal addition was $25-

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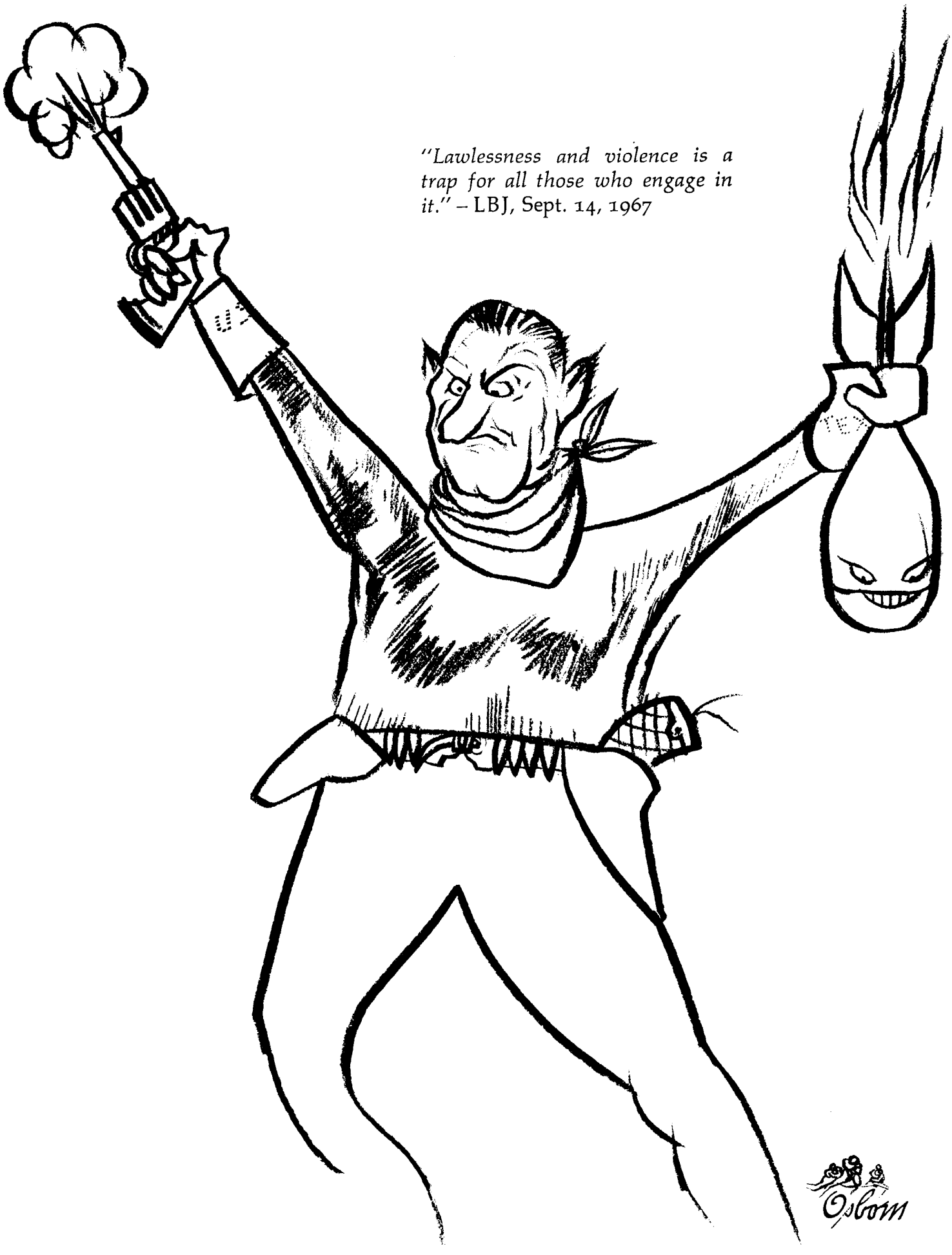

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million for the now fashionable riot control. This money would go into training "law enforcement officers in methods and techniques of riot prevention and control." They might thus gain experience with new devices such as those suggested by the Institute for Defense Analysis for gluing demonstrators together, making them itch, cry, tranquillized, or slip and slide around. The House also attached a provision for federal crime control money to be channeled to police through state governors – maximum feasible participation of the politicians, just like the poverty program.

The bill is now in the Senate. On November 2 it was reported to the Judiciary Committee by a subcommittee as Confidential Subcommittee Print No. 3. Here it is encumbered with several disturbing other amendments. Nearly 28 pages of the 59 page bill pertain to "court-approved wiretapping" which the Administration opposes in criminal cases but which the subcommittee has decided it would allow in cases ranging from murder to marijuana.

A second new provision would circumvent the Supreme Court's rulings on the admissibility of confessions. Under the Senate bill a judge could decide whether a confession had been made voluntarily, after considering such questions as whether the defendant had been advised of his right to counsel, whether his attorney was with him when he confessed, whether he was told he didn't have to make a statement and that any statement could be used against him. But he is freed by the bill to disregard these circumstances if he wishes. "The presence or absence of any of the above mentioned factors to be taken into consideration by the judge" reads the bill, "need not be conclusive on the issue of voluntariness of confession." More extraordinary, and of doubtful constitutionality, the bill would forbid the Supreme Court to review the admissibility of confessions considered voluntarily given by the trial judge if the case has been upheld by state courts.

Unsettlement Is the Middle East Prospect

United Nations

As I write, it is not known whether the Security Council can agree any time soon on the conditions under which a special UN intermediary could go to the Middle East and begin the laborious process of de-escalation. What we do know is that an American-Soviet understanding – a prerequisite for any Middle Eastern peace – is as remote as at any time in the last six months. We know too that the latest series of angry debates in the Security Council were provoked by Soviet fear of losing their grip on the Arab countries, and especially on the United Arab Republic.

The events which gave rise to this Soviet anxiety were the talks King Hussein was having with top Administration figures in Washington and New York, and the very secret exchanges between Ambassador Goldberg and the Egyptian foreign minister Mahmoud Riad. During those talks, it became evident that Egypt and Jordan – the chief losers in the recent war – were beginning to grasp the fact that only the United States – nobody else, not even the Soviet Union despite all the aid it is giving and promising them – could help them regain at least a part of what they had lost. For that reason, the rulers of the two countries were seemingly inclined, however reluctantly, to follow the American lead and to accept, however grudgingly, an American resolution calling for UN special representation and recognition of "secure and recognized boundaries." This is where matters stood three weeks ago.

The prospect of an American initiative acceptable to both the Arabs and Israel alarmed Soviet diplomacy. Would not an American-Arab understanding lead to replacing Soviet supremacy in the Arab world with that of the US? This prospect posed an agonizing question to important Soviet leaders: Might Egypt become another Indonesia? Throughout the communist world today, Indonesia is a dread word – a symbol of disappointed hopes, of vast resources wasted without any chance of recovery. In self-defense, the Soviet leaders point an accusing finger at Peking as well as at Khrushchev and the CIA; they claim that it was the Chinese who provoked the crazy initiatives of local communists which enabled reactionary generals to launch a successful Indonesian counterrevolution. Another disaster of that sort would have tremendous consequences within the Soviet hierarchy.

Looked at from Moscow, Cairo in the fall of 1967 does seem to have much in common with Jakarta before the events of October 1964 – a disastrous economic situation without any hope of quick improvement; popular disaffection; above all, growing disenchantment with a supreme leader and growing opposition to him, especially in the ranks of the army.

Moscow bureaucrats have long been convinced that the determining element in the Indonesian counterrevolution was the CIA. That being so, they are easily tempted to believe the same agency is playing a decisive role in Cairo. At least that interference can be drawn from the traveling back and forth between Washington and Cairo of Robert Anderson, and from the fact that a group of American diplomats is stationed in Cairo today, despite the absence of formal

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diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The present Soviet leadership can and does blame "the loss of Indonesia" on Nikita Khrushchev, along with other failures such as the corn-planting program, the Cuban missile crisis, and the settlement of the virgin lands. But the "loss of Egypt" – a country which has thus far cost the Russians several times more than the one billion rubles they invested in Sukarno's Indonesia – can only be blamed on the present Soviet leadership. That loss could be a powerful weapon in the hands of a tough group led by former secret police boss Shelepin (demoted to the unimportant post of trade union leader) and his influential friends among the Soviet military.

This is the background against which one ought to view what has been happening in the Security Council. Any tendency on the parts of the Arabs to seek accommodation with the United States has been discouraged. Instead, the UAR was told to call for an urgent meeting of the Security Council in order to prevent Arthur Goldberg from accomplishing his purpose. India, always ready to help Gamal Nasser, so that the Gandhi-Tito-Nasser triumvirate can be preserved, immediately offered a draft resolution, the essential purpose of which was to thwart any American role as the initiator or guarantor of an Arab-Israeli compromise.

The upshot of it all is that, six months after the six-day war, the situation in the Middle East is as unsettled as it was in the grave days of last May. At that time the Arab desire to reestablish "pre-1948 conditions" and the Israeli desperate will to survive, led to an unavoidable clash. Now the continuation of the status quo would seem to lead inevitably to the downfall of the Nasser regime. But in falling, Nasser could bring the Soviet leadership down with him, and the latter clearly have decided not to let this happen. The Russians still hope that the military defeat of June, and the subsequent political reverses, can be turned into a diplomatic victory – not simply over tiny Israel, but over the mighty US. That, of course, would be a defeat which the United States could ill afford, having already lost so much influence and prestige through its unhappy involvement in Vietnam.

A clear-cut, decisive Middle East settlement – one way or another – is not in the cards. It could only come about if the US were to wash its hands of the whole area, which American public opinion is clearly not willing to do; or, if Moscow gave up the idea of using the Arab-Israeli conflict as a means of furthering Russian ambitions in the immense region from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic. Neither is likely. So no matter whether the Security Council agrees, or does not agree to send a Special UN Representative to the Middle East, tensions and dangers will persist and the area will remain in the news. PHILIP BEN

Looking for Another Way

Eugene McCarthy Hits the Road

by E. W. Kenworthy

From November 9 to 13, Senator Eugene J. McCarthy forayed into five states – New York, Minnesota, Michigan, Massachusetts and Illinois – testing sentiment and gathering pledges of financial support for what he called a "personal confrontation" of President Johnson's Vietnam policy in at least four, and possibly six, presidential primaries.

By the end of those five days the Minnesota Democrat had reached, if he had not done so earlier, the point of no return. He was still saying that he had to consult with some of his Democratic colleagues before making a decision. That went without saying. A confrontation in Massachusetts presents Senator Edward M. Kennedy – and brother Robert as well – with a delicate problem. And Democratic Senator Gaylord Nelson, who is running for reelection, would undoubtedly prefer that Gene McCarthy permit dissident Democrats there to register their opposition to the Administration's Vietnam policy by marking a "no" – as the Wisconsin primary law provides – against Lyndon Johnson rather than by offering them a "personalized alternative."

But since McCarthy can expect very little private, much less, open, encouragement from most of his Democratic colleagues, his consulting them can be put down to courtesy, and their advice will not be a factor in his decision.

Nor, in fact, will the question of money. He has received assurances of enough financial support to wage the kind of campaign that he envisages as necessary to publicize the confrontation. (Nevertheless, some of the businessmen McCarthy talked to in Boston on Nov. 13 were pointing out that it would take a good deal of money to organize support for a slate of McCarthy delegates.) Most of the financial pledges have come from wealthy liberals in New York and California who formerly made up the private preserve of Hubert H. Humphrey.

Indeed, the one thing that could probably dissuade McCarthy from going ahead is a dramatic change in the Administration's policy before the first or second

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week in December – the date he has set for an announcement. At Ann Arbor he left himself this out when he said there must be a confrontation in the primaries "unless it [the controversy over Vietnam policy] can be resolved before that point is reached." But he does not really believe that President Johnson will alter course that soon.

Therefore McCarthy must go forward with his challenge, and especially because he has raised it on moral grounds. Over and over again during the five-day trip he said that the basic question that must be faced in 1968 was whether "what is called our commitment in South Vietnam is morally defensible." On this basis, he said, he had come to the conclusion "that the war is no longer justifiable."

It was a strange, rather baffling experience to cover McCarthy's recent trip. It had all the outward trappings of a political campaign – TV coverage, the convergence of the national press, airport news conferences, the customary airport receptions by enthusiastic students (noticeably beardless) waving hand-lettered signs ("Peace with McCarthy!" "Draft McCarthy – America Needs a Choice").

Yet there was about this excursion an air of uncertainty and paradox. This stemmed not so much from the fact that McCarthy was a candidate who had not announced his candidacy (this is a familiar enough tactic), but from the fact that he was not campaigning for a nomination but for an idea, a single-minded cause, namely, that the issue of the Vietnam war, and more largely the whole question of America's role in the world, had to be brought into the open within the Democratic Party, and that in order to do this, the dissent from the Administration's policy had to be "personalized" in a direct, political confrontation.

This may inhibit his purpose, and might finally frustrate it, but at least it disposes of the simple conclusion that he has decided to enter the primaries to be revenged on President Johnson who led him up the garden path toward the Vice Presidency in 1964 and then dropped him in the well.

Unquestionably the memory of that humiliating experience – for which, quite frankly, McCarthy, knowing Lyndon Johnson, had only his own innocence to blame – still rankles. But he is hardly so naïve or self-deceiving that he would allow his rancor to entice him into punishing primary races. He is no amateur. He knows what goes into the making of a serious candidacy – the arduous, unremitting organization to round up delegate strength – when the contest is wide open. He is fully aware that no incumbent President has ever been denied renomination for a second term, and that Johnson is not likely to be an exception.

Therefore, most of the reporters following him were prepared to accept that McCarthy's purpose was what he stated it to be – to provide a focus for the dissent on Vietnam in the hope of collecting a large enough vote to induce President Johnson to take no further escalating steps and gradually start deescalating.

A secondary purpose, as he repeatedly told university audiences last week, was to entice young dissenters back into the traditional party structure by assuring them that their views would be heard and have senior representation. Unless the dissenters – the young, the academic community, the clergy – can find an effective role within the party structure, he said, they will expend their energies futilely in third and fourth parties or fringe groups.

The question arises why Gene McCarthy has assumed this task. He was one of the 17 Democratic senators who, in January 1966, urged the President to continue the bombing pause. But he has not been in the forefront of the small Senate band that has increasingly questioned Vietnam policy. McCarthy is not intellectually lazy, but he has never been a man of causes either. He is not so much indifferent as disinterested, urbane, slightly cynical, not expecting too much of human nature and therefore disposed to be tolerant of human weaknesses and the compromises in which politicians seek refuge. His saint's day has not been St. Crispin's.

What aroused him first, apparently, was the aggressive, arrogant, almost contemptuous testimony of Undersecretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last August on US commitments. Mr. Katzenbach stated that President Johnson had authority, even in the absence of the Tonkin Gulf resolution, to do all that he had done in Vietnam without reference to Congress.

In the midst of that testimony, Senator McCarthy left the hearing room, visibly – and unwontedly – angry. To a reporter who met him in the hall, he said: "This is the wildest testimony I ever heard. There is no limit to what he says the President could do. There is only one thing to do – take it to the country."

But what brought McCarthy's resolution to the sticking point – judging by the emphasis he placed on it in all his speeches – was Mr. Rusk's press conference last month in which the Secretary of State warned of "a billion Chinese . . . armed with nuclear weapons" and insisted that United States security was the prime issue in Vietnam.

To the National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace in Chicago [see page 15] McCarthy said: "If we are being asked to judge Vietnam as the preliminary to a great confrontation with Communist China, then we must call a halt."

Privately he told a reporter that so long as the Administration "muddied up" the Vietnam war by pro-

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claiming its objective was self-determination for South Vietnam, "it could make a case." But, he said, when Rusk "projects Vietnam to all Southeast Asia and one billion Chinese, you have a debatable problem. You can ask the public for a determination." He added, after a moment's pause, "I always believed the Administration had China in mind."

How is McCarthy doing on the stump? The answer – on which all reporters accompanying him agree – is, not too well.

In the first place, he makes the same speech over and over again. This is all right, perhaps, for the immediate audience which has not heard it before, but it very soon gives the reporters nothing to report.

Second, he speaks from notes rather than from a prepared text. While this gives his speeches a seeming spontaneity and casualness, these are qualities more appreciated in a college lecture room than in a political campaign where it is of first importance to order the argument and to come down hard on the major points, particularly when the whole campaign is based on a moral imperative. His speeches do not build up to a climax; they trail off and stop when he thinks he has talked long enough.

Third, because of his casualness, he throws away, again and again, lines that should bring his audience to the edge of their seats. For example: "Escalation is a word that has no point of interruption. By the time you raise a question, the flag has gone by." Or again: "I don't know at what quantitative point the national honor becomes involved."

Fourth, his wit tends to be a little special, thus delighting the academics but leaving the generality puzzled and suspicious. Thus: "John Foster Dulles accepted a kind of moral responsibility for the whole world. He was the greatest covenanter in our history." To appreciate that, the listener had to know what a covenanter was and that Dulles – in the role of a Calvinist supreme being – imposed covenants on lesser breeds in the Middle East and Asia.

Sometimes McCarthy's wit gets in the way of his purpose. When a questioner asked him with utmost seriousness what he would do if he were President, the senator replied, "I would go to the Pentagon. If not, I would at least try to get diplomatic representation there." This is funny but it is too flip, and it leaves earnest students unsatisfied.

Finally, what McCarthy's speeches lacked from Nov. 9 to 13 was a fervor and eloquence commensurate with his convictions. This he is capable of – remember the nominating speech in 1960 for Adlai Stevenson – if he bends his talents to the task.

Some reporters thought that McCarthy was making a bad mistake in concentrating on the students, the professors, the clergy and the trade union leaders who already agree with him. To achieve his purpose he must get votes, and the votes do not lie in these groups but among those distraught citizens, largely in the expanding middle class, who do not want to "let the boys down" or "let the President down," but who have gnawing doubts about the Vietnam war, and yet are still distrustful of, and repelled by, the moral absolutism of the intellectual community.

Not to put too fine a point on it, these citizens are asking whether what the United States is investing in this war is worth what the promised "victory" will produce.

This is a kind of moral relativism which McCarthy understands and shares. In fact, it is what has brought him to his present position.

"In the year 1968," he said at Macalester College in St. Paul, "we must raise the basic question as to whether or not what is called our commitment in South Vietnam is morally defensible; to ask not only whether it is legally, militarily and politically defensible, but also is it morally defensible and in the national interest. We must raise the essential moral question as to whether or not there is a proper balance in what we may gain in what is projected as victory, in contrast with the loss of life, the loss of material goods, the loss of moral integrity and moral energy which goes with the effort."

This is the kind of moral pragmatism that might elicit sufficient response to make President Johnson pay heed. But it needs emotional firing.

Young Democrats And Old Pros

by Paul Wieck

A host of enthusiastic youngsters converged on the Hub City this month in a mood to toss their elders' tea leaves into the harbor, only to find themselves standing by helplessly while a group of young "pros" took over the machinery of the College Young Democrats. Insignificant as CYD may be in the broad national picture, there is a warning in this for the "Dump Johnson" forces.

The handful of young "pros" who took over the CYD machinery had a single purpose; namely, to crawl back into the embrace of the Democratic National Committee and thus, once again, receive their annual pittance in exchange for being good. To do this, they

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had to squash the "Dump Johnson" movement and, in the process, render their whole organization irrelevant to the political realities of campus life today. They did it not only willingly but anxiously.

If a handful of "professional" Young Democrats, already jaded by too many caucuses and too much prodding from machine-oriented elders, can take over and, in a single weekend, wipe out the gains made by a hardy group of their contemporaries who managed to survive the last year outside the pale of the National Committee, what does this portend for the hundreds of precinct caucuses, county conventions and primaries that will be held next year as Democrats across the country go through the exercise of selecting their delegates to the national convention?

The mood of the convention, like that of the college community, was sharply anti-Johnson. Of all political indiscretions, the most flagrant would have been to wear an "All the Way With LBJ" button; only a few isolated voices were raised in his behalf. A delegate who sported only a "Negotiations Now" button was labeling himself as hopelessly conservative. "McCarthy in '68" buttons blossomed from half the lapels and there was a heavy sprinkling of "RFK in '68" buttons; ironically, often side-by-side on the same lapel. Speakers who flayed the Administration were cheered wildly. Chants of "We Want McCarthy" and cries of "run, baby, run" greeted Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D, Minn.) when he spoke to the convention banquet. But, in that atmosphere, a "pro-party" clique had little trouble defeating the candidate of the "Dump Johnson" kids.

David Bush, a 22-year-old American University student and the newly-elected CYD chairman, was hearing the drummer hired by his machine-oriented elders in the Democratic Party. Of the candidates nominated, he was the least effective on the podium and it is hard to imagine him standing up to John Bailey in the confines of the DNC. If this judgment is unfair, Bush will have two years as CYD chairman to correct it. Bush epitomizes what DNC is willing to live with this season. A "moderate dove" on Vietnam, he has marched in some demonstrations and supplied the anti-Vietnam resolution (stop the bombing, negotiate with the National Liberation Front) that led to CYD's fall from grace but, by the fall of 1967, he was anxious to get back in the fold. Now, he's willing to be quiet.

Bush and the handful of young "pros" who took over the convention shared, in varying degrees, the tribulations of CYD in the last year. After the break, CYD's funds (at the most, $15,000 to $20,000 per year) were cut off and Dale Wagner, the outgoing chairman, had to beg, borrow and then beg again to round up enough money to keep CYD going. The important thing is that he did. To compound their problems, the "senior" Young Democrats, many of them prodded by senior party officials, threatened the very life of CYD by passing, in Salt Lake City, a proposed constitutional amendment that would dissolve CYD and force state YD organizations, notably in the machine-oriented Northeast, to integrate CYD into their state organizations on equal footing with local clubs.

To illustrate just how the pressure was applied from outside CYD at Boston, it is important to understand the role of the Connecticut delegation. Although collegians, they were under the discipline of Democratic National Chairman John Bailey through Bailey's YD protégé in that state – Hal Allen. Allen is typical of the aging YD hacks from machine-oriented states. He stayed in close contact with the convention via the telephone and thus his state's CYDers were able to pressure the two "pro party" candidates – Bush and Joe Berlant of New York – to get together with the implicit promise that, if they were good boys and girls and turned back the "Dump Johnson" crowd, he (Allen) would put his neck on the line to get CYD back into the good graces of the National Committee. An agreement was reached whereby Bush would become president and Berlant, who wore only the "Negotiations Now" button, would get the paid position at DNC once CYD made it back into the fold.

The "Dump Johnson" kids were listening to a different drummer. They had listened to Rep. Robert Kastenmeier tell them at a convention luncheon to "speak your minds" because "in so doing, you serve your party and your nation." They cheered loudly. John Kenneth Galbraith had assured them it is proper to carry the fight against the Administration's Vietnam policy into the primaries and Sen. Eugene McCarthy, looking thoroughly uncomfortable as they chanted "We Want McCarthy," told 500 cheering students in Cambridge the night before the convention vote that he had "finally concluded that this (Vietnam) is an issue that has to be taken to the people of the country in 1968." They arrived in Boston, exhilarated by reports of McCarthy's presence and availability, unable to conceive of widespread collegiate opposition to a "Dump Johnson" movement. Stung by the events which followed, a Colorado lass who could have collected a lot more proxies out West, moaned: "I assumed the youth of the nation believed like I do." They do, but they weren't in control.

Just as Bush epitomized the "pro party" forces, so did Harvard Law School's Tom O'Brien epitomize the "Dump Johnson" group. Tall, lanky and soft-spoken, he was active in "Vietnam Summer." His friends describe him as "incredibly honest" and he and the Harvard boys around him were unable to make the compromises that might have prevented a "pro party" victory. But, once before the convention, he was, by

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far, the most effective speaker of all the candidates. In his straightforward manner, he told the convention he opposes LBJ's policies in Vietnam, that he agreed that CYD shouldn't take a stand on party candidates (a proposed amendment allowing pre-primary endorsements had already been overwhelmed although backed by O'Brien's supporters) but that he, personally, would work for an "open convention" in Chicago (one of the current "Dump Johnson" euphemisms) if elected. O'Brien was overwhelmed by Bush – 164 to 89 with 15 scattered votes. California had only 17 votes whereas, if all the state's CYD clubs had been represented at least by proxy, it would have had 120. That extra 100 votes alone would have put O'Brien ahead of Bush. The same was true in Colorado, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin.

The delegates voted overwhelmingly (187-79) for a resolution that called the Administration's Vietnam policy "generally unsound" and called for a halt in the bombing of the North, a UN peace force to replace US forces and a plebiscite conducted by all parties involved, including the National Liberation Front. "This one is for the conscience," one delegate quipped. O'Brien and two of his supporters were named to the 12-member national executive committee.

Does CYD, after the Boston convention, have any relevance to the political realities of campus life today? The answer is "no." Across the country, young people are increasingly alienated, not only from the Democratic Party but from the political institutions, *per se*.

This brings us to another question – that of financing the political activities of young people in politics. The money problem was an important factor in the thinking of Bush and his friends. If the alternative is to be the Democratic National Committee or the CIA, which has delved into this field in the past, the choice is far from clear. Certainly, there must be a way to raise $15,000 or $20,000 or even more, no strings attached, to keep an organization such as CYD solvent while it goes about the business of making itself relevant to the realities of campus politics.

There is a tendency on the part of the "pro party" professionals to regard their endless and tedious backroom caucuses and deals as "sophisticated" at the very time when the entire mood of the nation has been undergoing a drastic change and the electorate is looking upon the "pros" with increasing suspicion.

Quoting Thoreau, "youth gets together his materials to build a bridge to the moon, or, perchance, a palace or temple on the earth, and, at length, the middle-aged man concludes to build a woodshed with them." Bush and Berlant and their "pro party" friends have chosen to go right ahead with the woodshed – for Bailey's use whenever they need a spanking.

Not All of Labor Agrees with Meany

by William L. Abbott

Chicago

The *New York Post* has speculated that President Johnson made his surprise trip to New York City to appear at the Jewish Labor Committee's testimonial to George Meany, because other union leaders were in Chicago that same Veterans' Day weekend dissenting from AFL-CIO support for LBJ's foreign policy.

The organizers of the Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace expected about 250 people. But 523 delegates from 38 states and 60 international unions showed up in Chicago, most of whom paid their own way, a revolutionary event in modern union circles, where unionists wouldn't think of traveling 10 miles from home unless their expenses were paid.

The Rev. Martin Luther King was there, as were Norman Thomas, J. K. Galbraith, Senators Eugene McCarthy and Vance Hartke, David Schoenbrun, Rear Admiral Arnold L. True, Harry Bridges, Pat Gorman of the Meatcutters, and the secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Frank Rosenblum. Mr. Thomas said that he found "more sound words on the war in *The Wall Street Journal* than in AFL-CIO publications." He got a standing ovation equaled only by the one given McCarthy.

The UAW's secretary-treasurer, Emil Mazey, denounced the "disgraceful and vulgar conduct" of George Meany in ordering war dissenters out of the 1965 San Francisco AFL-CIO convention. But it was Victor Reuther, UAW international affairs director, who delivered the most bitter speech a national labor figure has made against another top unionist since John L. Lewis said he had examined the mind of William Green and had found nothing there.

Reuther began by calling for negotiations with both Hanoi and the National Liberation Front, preceded by an unconditional halt in the bombings – a position the delegates later approved unanimously. He then lectured the assembly on the danger of the "multinational corporations" which, being worldwide themselves, must be fought globally by unions of many nations and of many political beliefs. He struck out at the AFL-CIO for running a "vest pocket operation" around the world. He claimed the first American organization to hail the Brazilian *putsch* which overthrew an elected government was the AFL-CIO. He called the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which is a tripartite affair of government, man-

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agement and labor which trains union leaders in Latin America, a "corporate fascist state approach."

It was like old home week, a *kaffeeklatsch* of the old (non-communist) Left. Delegates told each other they hadn't seen anything like this since the YPSL days or the youthful years of the CIO.

The sense of the Assembly (initiated by the Trade Union Division of SANE and underwritten largely by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers) was that Vietnam was making pro-war liberals less liberal every day. "The war has made the Great Society a myth," said Martin Luther King. By cutting poverty funds, he asserted, "Congress has engaged in a guerrilla war upon the defenseless of our nation. . . . There comes a time when one must take a position that is neither safe nor politic." Guilt feelings were greatly in evidence. If clergymen and professors were courageous enough to put their jobs on the line to help the cause of peace, why were union men so cowardly? One woman textile worker remarked that "I wouldn't elect Lyndon Johnson as my shop steward, for if I came to him with a grievance he would tell me first to pray and then he would reassure me that he would make a study of my complaint."

Do We Want Children's Allowances?

by James Tobin

The disastrous shortcomings of existing programs of public assistance to the poor in this country have evoked a lively and constructive national discussion of various proposals for reform. Unfortunately the labels attached to alternative plans – "guaranteed income," "negative income tax," "family allowances," "children's allowances" – are frequently more confusing than descriptive.

These names, or labels, mean different things to different people, and they conceal rather than illuminate the real issues involved in designing a new system of public assistance. Evidently quite a number of well-intentioned liberals – among them TRB in this journal and Daniel Patrick Moynihan – find "family allowances" or "children's allowances" an attractive label. I wonder if they have really thought through the implications of their choice.

Any program of the genre under consideration involves two elements:

1. *A schedule relating guarantees to the size and composition of the family.* The guarantee is the amount the government pays a family which has no income or financial resources of its own. How should this amount differ between large families and small, or between families with and without children?

2. *An offsetting "tax" on the family's other income* (perhaps on its wealth as well), determining how the government's net payment to a family declines as the family's own resources increase.

Plans can differ in either or both of these elements. Consider, for example, the four plans A, B, C, and D on the facing page. These are described in tabular form for selected family types and selected incomes.

In each table, the first row is element I, the guarantee schedule. Element II, the offsetting tax, determines how much lower the government payments are in the subsequent rows, when the family has other income. In Plan A, for example, with an offsetting tax of 50 percent, a family's benefit is the guarantee less half of its other income, and vanishes altogether if its other income is twice the guarantee or more. Thus a family of 2 adults, 3 children with other income of $2,000 would receive the basic guarantee for families of that size, $3,000, less 50 percent of $2,000; its total take-home income would be $4,000, *i.e.*, its own $2,000 plus $2,000 from the government.

Illustrative Plan B has the same guarantee schedule but an offsetting tax rate of 100 percent. This is the prevailing procedure in the existing welfare system, and it is also the procedure contemplated in proposals for guaranteeing to pay families the difference between what they earn and what they need. The unfortunate and perverse effects of this 100 percent tax on the incentives of a family to increase its own earnings and earning capacities are well known, and I will not resume that discussion here.

Plans C and D are examples of what I understand to be "children's allowances" programs. They differ from the other illustrative plans in both elements I and II. So far as the guarantee schedule (first row) is

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PLAN A: OFFSETTING TAX OF 50% ON OTHER INCOME

Net Annual Government Payment to Family: (Total Income in parentheses)

With Other Income of:	1 Adult	2 Adults	1 Adult 1 Child	1 Adult 2 Children	1 Adult 3 Children	2 Adults 1 Child	2 Adults 2 Children	2 Adults 3 Children
$ 0	$800	$1,600	$1,300	$1,800	$2,200	$2,100	$2,600	$3,000
	(800)	(1,600)	(1,300)	(1,800)	(2,200)	(2,100)	(2,600)	(3,000)
2,000	None	600	300	800	1,200	1,100	1,600	2,000
	(2,000)	(2,600)	(2,300)	(2,800)	(3,200)	(3,100)	(3,600)	(4,000)
3,000	None	100	None	300	700	600	1,100	1,500
	(3,000)	(3,100)	(3,000)	(3,300)	(3,700)	(3,600)	(4,100)	(4,500)
6,000	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)

PLAN B: OFFSETTING TAX OF 100% ON OTHER INCOME

Net Annual Government Payment to Family: (Total Income in parentheses)

With Other Income of:	1 Adult	2 Adults	1 Adult 1 Child	1 Adult 2 Children	1 Adult 3 Children	2 Adults 1 Child	2 Adults 2 Children	2 Adults 3 Children
$ 0	$800	$1,600	$1,300	$1,800	$2,200	$2,100	$2,600	$3,000
	(800)	(1,600)	(1,300)	(1,800)	(2,200)	(2,100)	(2,600)	(3,000)
2,000	None	None	None	None	200	100	600	1,000
	(2,000)	(2,000)	(2,000)	(2,000)	(2,200)	(2,100)	(2,600)	(3,000)
3,000	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
	(3,000)	(3,000)	(3,000)	(3,000)	(3,000)	(3,000)	(3,000)	(3,000)
6,000	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,000)

PLAN C: NO OFFSETTING TAX

Net Annual Government Payment to Family: (Total Income in parentheses)

With Other Income of:	1 Adult	2 Adults	1 Adult 1 Child	1 Adult 2 Children	1 Adult 3 Children	2 Adults 1 Child	2 Adults 2 Children	2 Adults 3 Children
$ 0	0	0	$1,200	$1,800	$2,400	$1,200	$1,800	$2,400
	(0)	(0)	(1,200)	(1,800)	(2,400)	(1,200)	(1,800)	(2,400)
2,000	0	0	1,200	1,800	2,400	1,200	1,800	2,400
	(2,000)	(2,000)	(3,200)	(3,800)	(4,400)	(3,200)	(3,800)	(4,400)
3,000	0	0	1,200	1,800	2,400	1,200	1,800	2,400
	(3,000)	(3,000)	(4,200)	(4,800)	(5,400)	(4,200)	(4,800)	(5,400)
6,000	0	0	1,200	1,800	2,400	1,200	1,800	2,400
	(6,000)	(6,000)	(7,200)	(7,800)	(8,400)	(7,200)	(7,800)	(8,400)

PLAN D: NO OFFSETTING TAX

Net Annual Government Payment to Family: (Total Income in parentheses)

With Other Income of:	1 Adult	2 Adults	1 Adult 1 Child	1 Adult 2 Children	1 Adult 3 Children	2 Adults 1 Child	2 Adults 2 Children	2 Adults 3 Children
$ 0	0	0	$ 150	$ 300	$ 450	$ 150	$ 300	$ 450
	(0)	(0)	(150)	(300)	(450)	(150)	(300)	(450)
2,000	0	0	150	300	450	150	300	450
	(2,000)	(2,000)	(2,150)	(2,300)	(2,450)	(2,150)	(2,300)	(2,450)
3,000	0	0	150	300	450	150	300	450
	(3,000)	(3,000)	(3,150)	(3,300)	(3,450)	(3,150)	(3,300)	(3,450)
6,000	0	0	150	300	450	150	300	450
	(6,000)	(6,000)	(6,150)	(6,300)	(6,450)	(6,150)	(6,300)	(6,450)

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concerned, they give no credit for adult members of the family unit. Single adults and childless couples are to receive no assistance at all. Families with children are aided, but in amounts that depend only on the number of children, not on the number of adults. (In some proposals, the benefit would depend on the age of the child – Moynihan would give less for a young child, while Daniel Schorr would give more.)

The troublesome implications of this procedure are clear from a comparison of Plans C and D. Plan D is the usual children's allowance proposal – pay to every child in the country $X per month. In Plan D the allowance per child is $150, the order of magnitude suggested by Moynihan for children more than 5 years of age. Obviously the amounts in the Moynihan plan are wholly inadequate. They do not begin to meet the needs of poor families. On this scale the proposal is a token gesture; it is no substitute at all for other programs of public assistance, existing or proposed. To make the allowance per child yield an amount at all adequate for one child plus his parent or parents, it would have to be, say, eight times larger, or $1,200 per year. But then each additional child would be worth this same amount, $1,200 a year. Does a couple with three children need three times as much as a couple with one child? There are, after all, some economies of scale in family living costs.

Plan C avoids this anomaly by allowing $1,200 for the first child and smaller amounts for second, third, and subsequent children. But it cannot and does not escape another serious, though doubtless unintended, implication of a plan that takes no account of adults. This is the large incentive to have children, at least one. A woman or a couple can, under Plan C or under Plan D scaled up to a realistic level of benefits, gain $1,200 a year by having that first child. Liberals are rightly indignant at the loose allegations of those critics of existing public assistance who say that welfare clients bring children into the world for their own financial benefit. When the financial incentive is made much larger can we be so sure? Even if the ultimate size of the family is not affected, timing might be and the first child might arrive earlier.

The conclusion is that it is simply not possible to design a reasonable schedule relating guarantees to family size while ignoring adults. Any schedule that avoids the anomalies just reviewed will imply payment of allowances to childless families.

And what is wrong with assisting childless adults? In 1964, 9.7 million of them were below the poverty line. It is true that many childless adults now qualify for social security benefits to the aged or disabled, for unemployment compensation, for old age assistance, or assistance to the blind. But the benefits are not always adequate. They need to be supplemented. They would be counted as "other income" subject to offsetting tax in Plans like A and B. Many other poor adults fall between or outside the various existing categorical programs. They are in genuine need. In some sense maybe this is "their own fault." But can we ever really say that in this land of unequal opportunity? Perhaps the advocates of children's allowances feel that it is politically expedient to make concessions to the Puritan ethic that balks at assistance to able-bodied adults. Surely liberals should not be party to perpetuating the misplaced Puritanism that has brought us to the present sorry state of welfare, the ethic that allows people in need to be assisted only when we can attribute the need to circumstances "beyond their control." We should give assistance to adults in need, with and without children, in a way that preserves their incentives to better their living conditions by their own efforts. This is the purpose of having a fractional rate of offsetting tax rather than the 100 percent rate illustrated in Plan B.

The second characteristic feature of children's allowance proposals relates to element II. This is the absence of any offsetting tax, also illustrated in Plans C and D. Other income will continue to be taxed by the regular income tax just as it is now, no more. The allowances will be pocketed in full by the penniless and the millionaire alike. A slight variant of this procedure would be to require inclusion of the allowances in taxable income. Every parent, rich or poor, would still benefit. But the rich father in a 70 percent marginal tax bracket would net only 30 percent of the allowances paid for his children.

Evidently the appeals of this procedure are universalism and administrative simplicity. All that is needed is a register of eligible children and a check-writing machine. But the advocates have surely not counted the cost. There are 70 million persons under the age of 18 in the United States, of whom only approximately 17 million are in poor families. To pay $150 a year to each child, tax-free, would cost $10.5-billion a year; to pay $1,200 a year to each child $84-billion a year; Plan C would cost $37 billion a year. Most of these amounts, about 75 percent, would go to families that do not need them. Subjecting the allowances to regular income tax would cut these costs by 24 percent, but aid to nonpoor families would still be 70 percent of the outlays. There is no justification for waste of this magnitude. The offsetting tax exemplified in Plans A and B is a perfectly feasible way of scaling benefits to needs.

Though the label is appealing, "children's allowances" are not a promising way of providing the new system of income supplementation that America urgently needs.

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Herbicides In Vietnam

by Arthur W. Galston

Chemicals are being used against forested and agricultural lands in Vietnam as part of US military strategy and tactics. This is the first time that chemicals designed to damage or kill plants have been used in war. To damage or kill a plant may appear a small thing in comparison to human slaughter. But when we intervene in the ecology of a region on a massive scale, we may set in motion an irreversible chain of events which could continue to affect both the agriculture and the wildlife of the area – and therefore the people – long after the war is over.

The purpose of using herbicides, as stated by Assistant Secretary of State Dixon Donnelley is twofold: "Chemical herbicides are being used in Vietnam to clear jungle growth and to reduce the hazards of ambush by Viet Cong forces. . . . Destruction of food is undertaken only in remote and thinly populated areas under Viet Cong control and where significant denial of food supplies can be effected by such destruction. . . ."

Mr. Donnelley has said also that the chemicals employed in Vietnam are "used extensively in most countries of both the Free World and the communist bloc for selective control of undesirable vegetation. They are not harmful to people, animals, soil or water." The implication of the word "selective" is that these herbicides are not harmful to plants other than the target species.

The fact is that even in limited and controlled conditions we do not understand at all well the basis for the altered behavior of a plant when we apply various chemicals. Thus, when we spray a synthetic chemical from an airplane over a mixed population of exotic plants growing under uninvestigated climatic conditions – as in Vietnam – we are performing the most empirical of operations. We learn what the effects are only after we perform the experiment, and if these effects are larger, more complex, or otherwise different from what we expected, there is no way of restoring the original conditions.

The 12th Air Commando Squadron, in the first nine months of 1966 alone, defoliated a Vietnamese area of 1,000 square miles, the size of Rhode Island. Included were about 70,000 acres of crops, mostly rice. The acreage of cropland rendered unproductive by sprays had risen to more than 150,000 by the beginning of this year. In the early part of 1967, the special Spray Flight of the 309th Aerial Commando Squadron expanded operations to include the so-called demilitarized zone separating North and South Vietnam, as well as war zones C & D and areas adjacent to Laos and Cambodia.

This spraying program, named "Operation Ranch Hand," started in 1961 with two C-123 transport planes; 60 spray sorties were flown that year. 1962 saw the number increase to 107, which included defoliation along canals and rivers in a large part of the heavily populated Mekong delta and a mountain pass near Qui Nhon, the port city north of Saigon. In 1966 combined defoliation and crop spraying operations had increased to the point where approximately 1,324,430 gallons of herbicides were sprayed over more than half a million acres of land, and plans were to triple the program. This year, a million and a half acres of land may be affected, perhaps 450,000 acres of this being crop land. That would be about five percent of South Vietnam's eight million acres under cultivation.

The chemical most used is a mixture of esters of 2, 4-D and 2,4,5-T (chlorinated phenoxyacetic acids) released from high pressure nozzles beneath the wings and just under the upswept tail of the planes. Each plane carries about 1,000 gallons of spray and approximately three gallons are released per acre, usually in the early morning, when the air is calmest and the danger of drifting is least. Within 24 hours, the foliage begins to wither and turn brown. By the end of six weeks, the leaves fall off the trees. For defoliation, reapplication is usually necessary at the beginning of each new growing season.

Amounts of herbicides being used this season are

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suggested by a *Business Week* item (April 22, 1967) announcing the disappearance from the domestic market (except in small packages for home owners) of 2, 4-D and 2,4,5-T. On July 11, we were told that contracts for $57,690,000 worth of chemicals for defoliation and crop destruction have been awarded by the Defense Supply Agency. The quantity of chemicals being purchased was not given, but even allowing for some price increase, the dollar figure suggests a purchase of between six and seven million gallons. (The Air Force budget for the fiscal year that ended June 30, 1967 provided $39,500,000 for about five million gallons. If prices remained the same, the new contracts would be for more than seven million gallons.)

Defoliation targets are selected by US or Vietnamese officers and must be approved by a province chief, the Vietnamese Army general staff, the US Military Assistance Command and, finally, the US Ambassador.

Asked in 1965 whether arsenic and cyanide compounds were being sprayed over the rice fields of South Vietnam, Assistant Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance replied: "We are making limited use of them in the southern part of Vietnam but not yet in the north." Cacodylic acid, an organic arsenic-containing compound, is being used against elephant grass and rice; both of these are the narrow-leaved type of plant which would be expected to be fairly resistant to the usual formulations of the 2,4-D type of herbicide.

Of the three herbicides mentioned, cacodylic acid is probably the most toxic to man. It contains 54.29 percent arsenic and is extremely poisonous. The lethal subcutaneous dose in dogs is one gram per kilogram body weight. If the same toxicity held for man, then about 70 grams, or slightly over two ounces, would kill the average 150 pound man if administered subcutaneously. Smaller doses could result in nausea, diarrhea, headache, muscular pains, weak pulse and coma. All these symptoms flow from the paralysis of capillaries and degeneration of the lining of the intestinal tract known to be induced by arsenic. In view of the persistence of this material and the cumulative nature of arsenic toxicity, its wide use certainly may pose dangers for the civilian population of Vietnam. The additional danger that arsenic may be accumulated by plants which would be eaten by man must also be investigated; such an effect would greatly magnify possible toxicity.

The basic formulation for 2,4-D and related herbicides varies with the region, the climate and the target plant. For example, the Dow Chemical Co. product called Esteron R 245 OS, designed "for the control of trees, brush and broad-leaved weeds" contains 67.7 percent of 2,4,5-T. This material is usually mixed with either diesel oil, No. 1 or No. 2 fuel oil or kerosene before spray application, although water sprays are sometimes recommended. About one gallon of Esteron per 100 gallons of water is a usual mixture. If applied by airplane, the practice in Vietnam, about one to four pints of Esteron per acre is the recommended amount. The label on this Dow preparation carries a "*warning*" on which the following statements are found:

Do not contaminate irrigation ditches or water used for domestic purposes.

Caution. May cause skin irritation. Avoid contact with eyes, skin and clothing. Keep out of reach of children.

Another Dow product, called Formula 40 R, which contains alkanolamine salts of 2,4-D and is designed "for the selective control of many broad-leaved weeds in noncrop areas and in certain crops" carries a more definitive statement:

Causes irritation of skin and eyes. . . . In case of contact, flush eyes with plenty of water for at least 15 minutes and get medical attention; wash skin with soap and plenty of water. Remove and wash contaminated clothing before re-use. Do not wear contaminated shoes.

There is no herbicide that acts against only a single plant or group of plants. If carried by wind, drift, or even vaporization, herbicides can destroy neighboring plots of useful plants. The warning on Esteron states: *Do not apply Esteron 245 OS directly to, or otherwise permit it to come into direct contact with . . . desirable plants which are sensitive to 2,4,5-T and do not permit spray mists to drift onto them, since even minute quantities of the spray may cause severe injury during both growing and dormant periods. . . . Applications by airplane, ground rigs and hand dispensers should be carried out only when there is no hazard from drift. Do not apply by airplane in the vicinity of cotton, grapes or other 2,4,5-T susceptible vegetation. At higher temperatures, vaporization may cause injury to susceptible plants growing nearby.*

Do not graze to dairy animals within seven days after treatment (to avoid contamination of milk).

Effects on birds and animals were noted in a Reuters dispatch from Saigon (*Baltimore Sun*, January 15, 1967) which said, "Chemical sprays have played havoc with bird life, destroying vegetation and the insects on which birds feed. Monkey and deer have also been affected."

The reassuring statements about the innocuous nature of the herbicides in use in Vietnam are based on laboratory and field tests in this country. These have shown the relatively selective nature of these chemicals – their effectiveness against one kind of plant, while leaving some other kinds unharmed. (Although, as noted above, there are limitations to this selectivity.) These tests have also demonstrated that 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T do not persist for a long time in the soil. A serious ecological upset is nevertheless possible. The

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reasons for this are:

► *The mechanism of action of the defoliants is imperfectly understood.* We are therefore setting in motion on a large scale a biological process whose consequences we cannot altogether foresee or control.

► *Most experience with these herbicides has been in environments very different from that in which they are now being used.* Their effect on individual plants indigenous to that part of the world has not been studied nor have we information about their movements through the food chains in that area.

► While experiments performed in Great Britain and the United States indicate that numerous species and strains of common soil microorganisms are effective in breaking down these compounds, in this process *they are transformed into new compounds which may, under some circumstances, have deleterious consequences.*

2,4-D and 2,4,5-T are especially effective against broad-leaved plants. In fact, this selectivity is so marked that 2,4-D is sold for application to grass lawns, where appropriate concentrations will kill dandelions, plantains and other common lawn weeds without affecting the growth of the grass. Of course, as many home gardeners have discovered to their sorrow, raising the 2,4-D concentration somewhat can result in greatly inhibited grass growth. Unless carefully controlled, both as to area and as to concentrations sprayed, the jungle defoliation aspect of the herbicide program in Vietnam can kill crops in areas where such an outcome is *not* intended. The problem of spray drift is especially troublesome. For example, it is widely known that rubber trees at a Michelin plantation were inadvertently killed by drifting spray. (The US compensated the French owners at about $87 per tree.) In a survey of defoliant action in the Bien Hoa area on May 4, 1965, observers noted that "considerable damage was done to trees and bananas. This damage was recognized and was evidently due to drift from defoliation spraying." At Tan Hiep village, beans were damaged, presumably because a Buffalo Turbine Sprayer, a ground-based machine which generates a very fine fog or mist, had been used in a nearby area. In this area alone, approximately 500 complaints or requests for compensation had been filed with hamlet chiefs for transmission to the province chief through channels. Beans and water spinach are recognized as the major susceptible crops, especially between May and November.

On December 13, 1965, three aircraft flew over Thoi An Dong village of Phong Phu district, spraying defoliant extensively. Watermelon only 20 days from full maturity was seriously damaged, as were rice, vegetables and fruits. Crops at the adjacent villages of Phuce Thoi and Ton Tuyen were also heavily damaged. The entire area was supposed to be "secure" from the US point of view and thus should not have been sprayed at all. Con Son, an island one-half kilometer from Can Tho, was subjected to defoliation treatment six times during June through December 1965. Papaya, jack fruit, milk fruit, coconut, watermelon, mustard cabbage and beans were adversely affected. At An Nghiep hamlet, beans, cabbage and tomato were adversely affected. The damage ranged from 40-100 percent, rendering the crops unprofitable for harvest. Some farmers also decided not to replant, thus amplifying the economic loss.

Another problem is that herbicides may affect a susceptible link in an important food chain. For example, fish are an important element in the Vietnamese diet and are frequently grown in rice paddies. Herbicides may not be directly toxic to fish, yet may affect them indirectly if they prove toxic to the microorganisms on which the fish feed. The appearance of the chlorophenols (derived from 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T), in a water supply at concentrations as low as one part per billion renders the water unpalatable, and possibly harmful.

There are not to my knowledge any data on the fate of these herbicides in the soils of Vietnam, but the class of chemicals to which 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T belong – the chlorinated phenoxy acids – usually take from two to 15 weeks to disappear from the soil in temperate climates after a single application. Some of them may linger for more than a year, and 3,4-dichholorphenoxyacetic acid does not disappear at all. Moreover, although the original herbicide disappears, it may be replaced by another substance which is also toxic to plants. These new substances may also affect the growth of the soil microorganisms, and since, especially in tropical soils, the activity of such organisms is essential to preservation of soil structure, the buildup of such materials in the soil may have serious ecological consequences. An inhibited soil microflora, especially during torrential downpours, could facilitate soil erosion and produce a radically altered ecology. This makes all the more serious the recent announcement by Secretary of Defense McNamara that the US plans to "poison the soil" so as to denude completely the vegetation from a strip of land going entirely across Vietnam from east to west. This man-made desert separating North from South Vietnam, and presumably serving to prevent infiltration, could have ecologically catastrophical consequences which cannot at present be envisioned.

In summary, we are too ignorant of the interplay of forces in ecological problems to know how far-reaching and how lasting will be the changes in ecology brought about by the widespread spraying of herbicides in Vietnam. These changes may include immediate harm to people in the sprayed areas and may extend to serious and lasting damage to soil and agriculture, rendering more difficult South Vietnam's recovery from war, regardless of who is the "victor."

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Short Change

The annual anthology called *The Best American Short Stories* has been published regularly since 1915. As I had not read a volume in 11 years, I felt it was time to do so, and I went through the latest.* A pretty depressing experience.

There are 20 stories and three of them seem to me good – one of the three very good. That would be a fairly happy average when reading magazines, but this is supposed to be a selection of the best in the year's magazines. My favorite in the collection is *White Anglo-Saxon Protestant* by Robert Hazel, a violent, sharp-eyed story of two Southern literary men living in New York – one an editor, the other a college teacher. Hazel has a viewpoint and a voice, and his story has a hurtling emotional dynamics.

Two other stories are satisfying. *Trepleff* by MacDonald Harris makes sensitive use of an amateur performance of *The Seagull* in Michigan to interweave the lives of the director and the two people playing Nina and Trepleff. The other story is, coincidentally, also about an actor, a professional, and is by Arthur Miller. The life of this actor, middle-aged and compromising and uneasy, is contrasted with that of an eager politically-minded young actor and with the protagonist's father, an invalid but still a vital man. There is some flavor of Bellow in it and there are reminders of Miller's previous father-son confrontations in *All My Sons* and *Death of a Salesman* and *After the Fall;* still, in itself, *Search for a Future* is valid and moving.

But the other 17 stories! There is a fake Katherine Mansfield (by Ethan Ayer), a fake Hemingway (by George Blake), a fake Eudora Welty (by Berry Morgan) – even a fake Satyajit Ray film in prose (by David Rubin). There are two stories that are merely extended jokes: a hillbilly joke by Jesse Stuart and an *idiot savant* joke by Carol Sturm. There is a story by Henry Roth – his first published fiction, I think, since *Call It Sleep* (1934) – so flat and foolish that it is hard to believe that the *New Yorker*, even though its fiction has fallen off badly, would have published it if the author were unknown. (It concerns an American couple who, with surveyor's instruments, locate a spot in Seville where the Inquisition once burned victims and who lay a wreath on it.)

More nullities. There are two stories of moral discovery that might have been daring in 1925. In one, by Raymond Carver, a man is nagged by suspicion of his wife's infidelity a few years back, forces her to confess, explodes, discovers he still loves her. In another, by Hugh Allyn Hunt, an adolescent discovers differences and similarities between a whore and a nice girl. There are stories of model-and-articulation: we are given an incident or symbol not directly related to the hero's life, and then we see how the hero's life follows the pattern of the model. In a story by Lawrence Lee, the fate of a donkey is observed by an American couple on a ship in the Greek islands; and we see that the donkey's fate is a symbol of their dilemma. In Kay Boyle's story an incident with a horse on a freight airplane, which the adolescent hero reads about, has a relation to the boy's life. In Robert Travers' story – a piece so crude and stupid that it manages to disgrace an already undistinguished book – a wily brown trout is used as a symbol of the hero's independent spirit. (This is evidently the year of the Animal Symbol.)

There are other disasters, but let us turn now to the editors, Martha Foley and David Burnett. In their foreword they call the short story "America's most distinctive and distinguished kind of writing" and say that it "has flourished during the past year." On the evidence they provide, it is difficult to agree about the flourishing. But perhaps this is a matter of their final choices, for in their list of Distinctive Stories of the past year which they have not reprinted are such names as Vladimir Nabokov, John Barth, George P. Elliott, Irvin Faust, Roy Bongartz, Philip Roth, John Updike, and Eudora Welty. We must assume that none of these stories was up to the level of that brown-trout number.

The first part of the editor's statement is at least equally questionable. Is the American short story more distinctive and distinguished than the novel? There is certainly no story in this book – possibly excepting Hazel's – that is up to the level of the novels published in the past year by Victor Kolpacoff, Anne Richardson, Carlene Hatcher Polite, and Christopher Isherwood (as American as Nabokov), no writing as distinguished as that in Frank Conroy's autobiography, *Stop-time*. This does not prove anything about the stature of the short form as against the long – who would want to "prove" anything? – but it does tell us something more about the editors. More, that is, than that this latest volume of theirs ridiculously misrepresents the current level of American imaginative writing.

Coming

Edith Sitwell, DBE, Litt.D
by Stephen Spender

White Man, White Mind
by C. Vann Woodward

Christ and the Commissars
by Theodore Solotaroff

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Beginning with the issue of December 2, Stanley Kauffmann will resume the post of film critic for *The New Republic*, which he held from early 1958 through 1965. In his column on this page he will alternate reviews of films with book reviews.

* *The Best American Short Stories 1967* Edited by Martha Foley and David Burnett (Houghton, Mifflin; $6.00)

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Reischauer's Asia

by Selig S. Harrison

The central theme of Edwin Reischauer's very important book is summed up in a sequence of maps showing how the countries of the world compare when their "size" is depicted not in the familiar Mercator territorial projections but in more meaningful dimensions of population and gross national product. On the population map, the United States looks rather desolate next to sprawling China and India, but on the GNP map most of the countries of Asia are slivers. The rest of the world as a whole barely manages to offset the enormity of American economic power.

Beyond Vietnam:
The United States and Asia
by Edwin O. Reischauer
(Knopf; $4.95)

Reischauer recalls that he first got the idea for this engaging way of presenting matters while serving as Ambassador in Tokyo. He wanted to persuade the Japanese, who loom large on the GNP profile, that they could no longer gracefully escape a greater contribution to Asian economic development. Now the message of the maps for Americans once again has an indirect bearing on the need for more aid from rich nations to poor. But this is quite incidental to his main point, which is simply that the United States should recognize the true proportions of its own strength, stop worrying about Asian menaces and begin to behave with the sense of confidence and restraint becoming to the paramount power of the day.

"The United States," Reischauer says, "is so extremely rich and strong and so far away from Asia. We would not be threatened by the kind of military power Asia could develop, and we are not dependent in any way on Asia. As long as we continue to solve our own social and economic difficulties and to meet the problems of our relationship with the other advanced nations, particularly the Soviet Union, we need have no fears for ourselves."

China, in the Reischauer estimate, is likely to be "a clumsy, slow-moving giant" with profound internal economic preoccupations for some time to come, blustering pridefully behind a basically defensive military posture. Historically, he contends, Chinese expansion has been in the direction of the Soviet borderlands to the north and west rather than to Southeast Asia. The development of a nuclear weapons capability has not been "to dominate their neighbors but because they believed it would give them a little more security against us." He sees little prospect of new communist gains in the face of strong nationalist currents in Asia. Indeed, instead of flailing at ghosts and demons, the United States with its vast strength "should be the most relaxed of all nations in facing the problems of Asia and thus able to muster the patience, tolerance and long-range foresight required. Asians, despite the fabled patience of the East, cannot be expected to be patient in the face of their pressing problems."

This is without doubt the best book written in recent years for the general reader about the American role in Asia. It is acutely sensitive to the way American policy looks to Asians, and yet it is not a mushy book insensitive to the facts of life facing American policy-makers. Reischauer is one of a handful of American scholars who combine authentic expertise in an Asian civilization with a flair for straightforward policy discussion. The style of his book is direct, readable, broadbrush and uncluttered by pedantic equivocation. He does not assume extensive background. He uses indigestible Asian place names sparingly and shuns footnotes. With the exception of Vietnam, he avoids detailed treatment of specific short-term policy issues. His effort has clearly been to reach the widest possible politically literate public while the national debate on Asia policy is at fever pitch, and in this effort he has been highly successful. By the same token, this is inevitably a book of erratic interest for the scholar and foreign affairs specialist. It adds only sporadically to what Reischauer and others have said and written before in specialized forums. The book also suffers from the typographical errors and occasional untidiness in organization which are difficult to avoid in a crash production.

Perhaps the most significant area in which this book sharpens up and extends earlier-vintage Reischauer is his increased emphasis on the integration of communism and nationalism in China and Vietnam. With the notable exception of the Soviet-installed regime in North Korea, he observes, communism has become a significant force in Asia only where it has been "generated primarily within . . . and carried along on strong currents of nationalism." In Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh "built up the most effective nationalist opposition to French rule" even before World War II, and in China too "nationalist feelings have been a major source of strength – I would go so far as to say *the* major source of strength – of the Chinese Communists."

Reischauer takes issue with those scholars who give priority to the "communist" component in the nationalist-communist mix and who thus see the Chinese and Vietnamese communists as communists, first and foremost, merely manipulating the symbols of nationalism for communist ends. Reversing the order, he declares that "a truer description of the situation is that communism

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in Asia is but one of nationalism's vehicles . . . Their basic goal was not to establish a communist system for itself but to achieve through it . . . entirely independent, self-respecting, modernized nations."

Having set forth his case that the enemy in Asia is more nationalist than communist in character, Reischauer proceeds to challenge the concepts of monolithic Moscow-Peking and Peking-Hanoi threats. In the case of Vietnam, if the US had abjured its pro-French policy and a unified communist state had emerged at the end of World War II, "it would be safe to assume that it would have been a highly nationalistic Vietnam. By the same token, I believe it would also have been free of Chinese domination." Laos and Cambodia might have fallen under Vietnamese influence, "but this at least would have kept them out of Chinese control." Despite an unwanted degree of dependence on Peking forced by the conflict with the United States, the prospect that a reunified Vietnam would remain free of Chinese tutelage, while now "more problematic" than in 1945, is still implicitly treated as a reasonable one.

"No Vietnamese, North or South, wants Chinese domination," Reischauer states, "and so that should present no great difficulties." His scenario for a settlement envisages the eventual reunification of Vietnam, preceded by a transition period during which North and South would coordinate their economies "under international supervision." In an approach rather like Robert Shaplen's recent proposal in *Foreign Affairs*, he speaks of local "cease-fire zones" in the South as a way to begin deescalation. There is an extremely questionable element of optimism in the assumption here that Hanoi and the NLF have reason to play their appointed part in such a strategy. Nevertheless, Reischauer points us in the general direction of the hard realities when he insists that communist control of certain long-established communist territorial strongholds would have to be acknowledged in one form or another as one element in any conceivable process of accommodation. He distinguishes between selective, de facto territorial concessions and the premature admission of National Liberation Front elements to a share of power in Saigon before there is a further opportunity for non-communist nationalities to consolidate their ranks. He also makes quite plain that if the Saigon government should refuse to go along with some sort of opening to the left, this "might serve to relieve us" of our constrictive commitments.

Although Reischauer feels it necessary to suggest some of his thinking on Vietnam and to indicate its place in the larger context of his analysis, he does so apologetically, reminding us repeatedly that Vietnam, China and communism in Asia generally have been inflated out of all proportion to their importance in American thinking. In a more valid perspective, Japan would be the centerpiece, and one of the most self-defeating aspects of the distortion in current American policy to Reischauer lies in the fact that it has eroded the psychological foundations of the all-important relationship with Tokyo. "The Japanese people, who had seen their own cities wiped out by American bombers only twenty years earlier, not unnaturally identified themselves with the Vietnamese being bombed. They were certain that we would in time be drawn into fighting Communist China too and that such an expanded war would then embroil Japan because of the American bases there." At first, the bombing put an "almost unbearable strain" on Japanese-US relations. Popular anxieties have fluctuated in accord with changing perceptions of the danger of a Sino-American war, but "serious friction" over US policy in Asia has continued behind diplomatic politeness. Most Japanese would like a close relationship with China and believe that "American obstinacy has stood in the way of better relations with Tokyo and Peking. They regard this as the steep price they pay for their relationship with us."

Japan rather than China is emerging as the major focal point of independent power in Asia, he says, and the manner in which Japan decides to assert this power will be of far greater import to the United States than what

An Announcement

to readers of THE NEW REPUBLIC

"The November/December issue of *Dissent* – now out – features an essay, 'Initiation for Whitey,' by the young writer and novelist Jeremy Larner. It is really a notable piece of work.

"Larner describes some of the developments, both good and bad, that have occurred in the urban ghettoes as a result of the poverty war, the riots and recent political events. His piece is free of cant and rhetoric, and it tells some unpleasant truths. Not everything we (or any other magazine) print is for the ages, but I think you will find 'Initiation for Whitey' invaluable."

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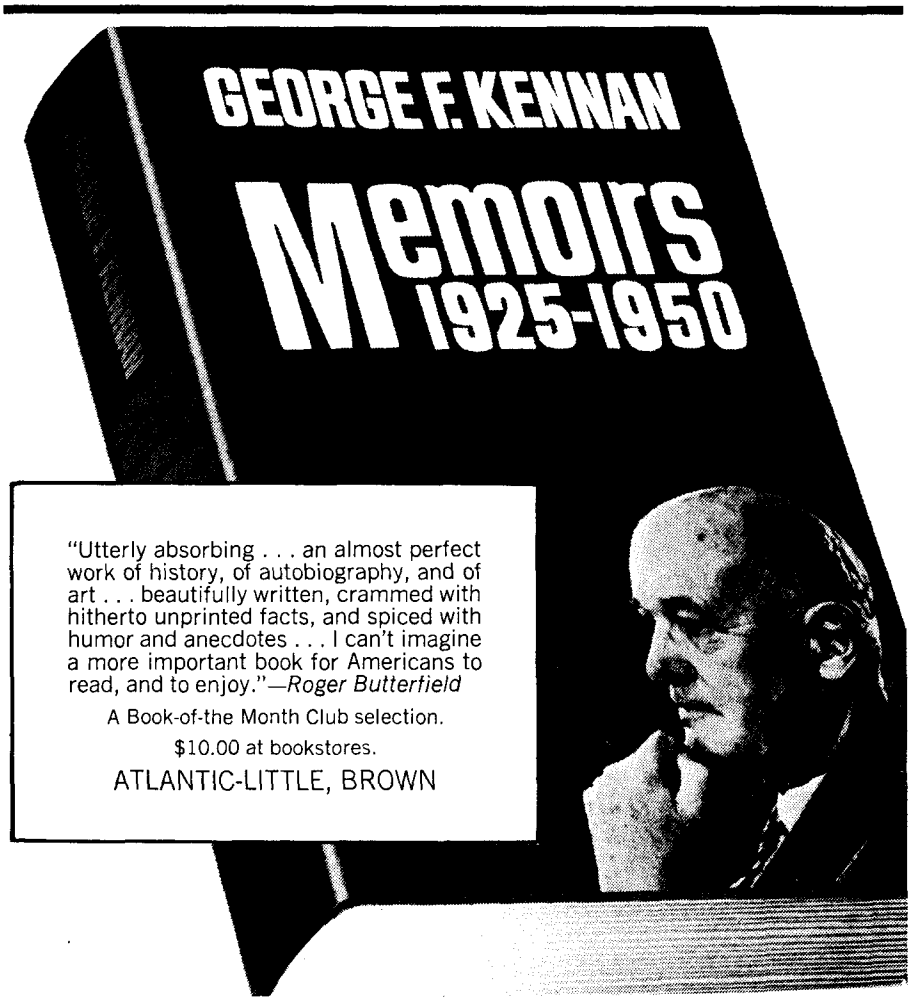
happens in the Mekong Delta. While putting Japan, China and Southeast Asia in a fresh and sensible perspective, however, Reischauer has permitted his Japan-centered background and interests to blot out his view of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent entirely. He has divided his substantive central chapters into one on Japan, one on China and another on "The Rest of Asia." In doing so, he addresses a grand total of 36 lines specifically to India and Pakistan in a book of 242 pages. Implicit in this blithe disposition of a major portion of Asia one senses a trace of the same airy attitude shown by Japanese and Chinese toward South Asia and, in particular, Hindu South Asia. The net effect is, in any case, a bit ridiculous and leads to a conspicuous structural and conceptual flaw in the book as a whole. On the one hand, given its escape from colonialism and its head start in industrialization, Japan is specifically excluded from his definition of "Asia" and thus from the general observations and guidelines constituting much of the book. Japan does receive detailed separate consideration, however, while no significant treatment is given India, Pakistan or for that matter, Indonesia, all of which are central to his generalizations.

So much about this book is so good that one must simply say everyone has his limitations and let it go at that. By and large, Reischauer's guidelines for future policy are as appropriate for South Asia as for East and Southeast Asia. His rule of thumb is that any regime not strong enough to defend itself against its internal enemies probably could not be defended by us either and might not be worth defending anyway. This would have ruled out direct military involvement in Vietnam but not, he is careful to say, South Korea.

Not only in military matters but in the economic field as well Reischauer urges a considerably less strenuous American role. He is not transfixed by growth rates. He recognizes the limitations imposed by nationalism on unilateral American intervention in the cause of rapid growth, warning that "we should not be the sponsors of economic, social or political development in Asian countries. We are acceptable in Asia as outside friends and helpers, but not as inside leaders." Is this a truism? Not to the many development economists and aid professionals who have come to feel an understandable proprietary concern for the success of US-assisted ventures. Reischauer sees the dangerous tensions building up in many of our aid relationships and advises that "we get away from thinking that our aid programs make us the leaders or guides of the countries of Asia. I presume that it is our long missionary tradition toward Asia that lets us slip so easily into this role."

His prescription for reducing aid tensions is perhaps less fully satisfactory than his diagnosis: American loan funds, he suggests, should be made available so that countries can hire consultants and planners of their own choice as a means of keeping the US out of the "inside leader's" role. A more meaningful departure, one suspects, would be to shift the support of planning and technical aid to international agencies, preferably UN agencies in which the USSR has a place.

Among the missing elements in most discussion of the future American role in Asia is a recognition of the distinctive character of Vietnam as the only case in all of Asia, China excepted, where a communist movement has become the vanguard of nationalism. Facing as it does an opponent at once nationalist and communist, the United States confronts a uniquely intractable challenge, one that is not likely to reappear in similar form in other Asian countries where communist ambitions tend to be identified with sub-national particularisms (*e.g.* northeast Thailand, or the Burmese minorities). Reischauer has helped enormously to clarify the current debate by refusing to let Vietnam overwhelm him – by striking a careful balance between the artificial categories of "withdrawal" from Asia, on the one hand, and a mindless com-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mitment to an unnecessarily extensive direct American presence.

Thus, he makes quite plain that he sees a legitimate place for the Seventh Fleet in the Western Pacific as a psychological shield against possible Chinese nuclear blackmail. Yet he distinguishes between the presence of the Fleet at a far remove on the seas and the maintenance of a network of bases in the sensitive, less-developed countries of the area, mentioning the Subic Bay naval base in the Philippines as an example of a potentially expendable facility. He anticipates the possibility that "in time" US forces and bases can be withdrawn entirely from Southeast Asia and South Korea. At the same time, however, he would keep open a "convincing option" of American intervention as a deterrent, and he would not entirely rule out military aid in carefully selected instances. The place to draw the line between military aid and what would be an entirely undesirable direct American involvement in civil wars lies, in his view, in a prohibition against US advisers accompanying the units of recipient countries into combat. Beyond this, he feels, the US should henceforth reject bilateral defense alliances with less-developed countries, encouraging them instead to be neutral.

There is nothing in common between Reischauer and assorted critics of the Administration who are basically motivated by a Europe-First attitude or who want to disengage because Asians are, after all, just a bunch of wogs. Reischauer is the new style of Asia-Firster. He has no doubts about the capacity of Asian countries to catch up with and possibly overtake the West. He is appalled at the insularity of American school textbooks with their implicit assumptions that "the West is and has been superior to the other civilizations of mankind, and that its 19th-century position of dominance over the rest of the world is natural and will continue indefinitely into the future." The issue in his terms is not whether the United States has an enlarging stake in its relations with Asia but whether we are capable of identifying and pursuing this interest with sensitivity and a sense of history.

It is because we are not economically dependent on Asia today, and have no genuine immediate security interest there, that he believes we can afford to stand back somewhat from the scene, attentive, responsive, but never proprietary. And it is precisely because we can so clearly foresee the eventual emergence of powerful, industrialized Asian countries that we dare not abuse our advantage of power today. "It would be rash to predict how soon or how much the present very unequal ratio of strength between Asia and the Occident will turn more in Asia's favor," he concludes, "but when it does, the sort of Asia that exists then will be very important to us. Will it be reasonably prosperous, stable and healthy, or merely more explosive because it is more powerful? Will it be oriented toward world cooperation and peace or driven by deep inner tensions and desires for revenge?"

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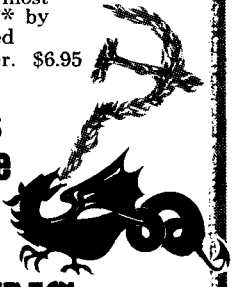

Jacques Marcuse

THE PEKING PAPERS

Leaves from the Notebook of a China Correspondent

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*(Publishers' Weekly)

Twilight in Bloomsbury

by J. M. Edelstein

The titles of the four volumes of Leonard Woolf's autobiography are not without significance. *Sowing, 1880-1904,* the account of his boyhood and his years in Cambridge where his basic principles of philosophy, ethics, art, and of living itself, were formed; *Growing, 1904-1911,* the description of his life as a civil servant in Ceylon; *Beginning Again, 1911-1918,* the story of the beginnings of the Bloomsbury group, his marriage to Virginia Stephens, her illness, life during the First World War, and the start of the Hogarth Press. And now, *Downhill All The Way,* for the years 1919 to 1939, in which Mr. Woolf tells of how Virginia Woolf wrote the novels which gradually established her fame, of her final illness and suicide, of the growth and distinguished success of the Hogarth Press, and of his own varied career as writer, publisher and politician.

Downhill All The Way
by Leonard Woolf
(Harcourt, Brace, & World; $5.95)

It is the fourth title which introduces a new note. It is not that Leonard Woolf is obsessed with the marks of his 87 years – certainly his prose shows no signs of decline. But it is in his contrast to Edwardian Cambridge and to the Bloomsbury days when "it seemed as though human beings might really be on the brink of becoming civilized," and when, in the revolt against Victorianism, "everyone was becoming consciously implicated in the struggle between right and wrong, justice and injustice, civilization and barbarism" that *Downhill All The Way* moves in a direction opposite to that of the earlier books.

By 1939, "civilization was finally destroyed." It is almost as if writing under the burden of that fact were too much for Leonard Woolf. The will, the persistence and the passion both of his lifetime and of his other works are still there beneath the persona of objectivity which Mr. Woolf has adopted not only as autobiographer but even

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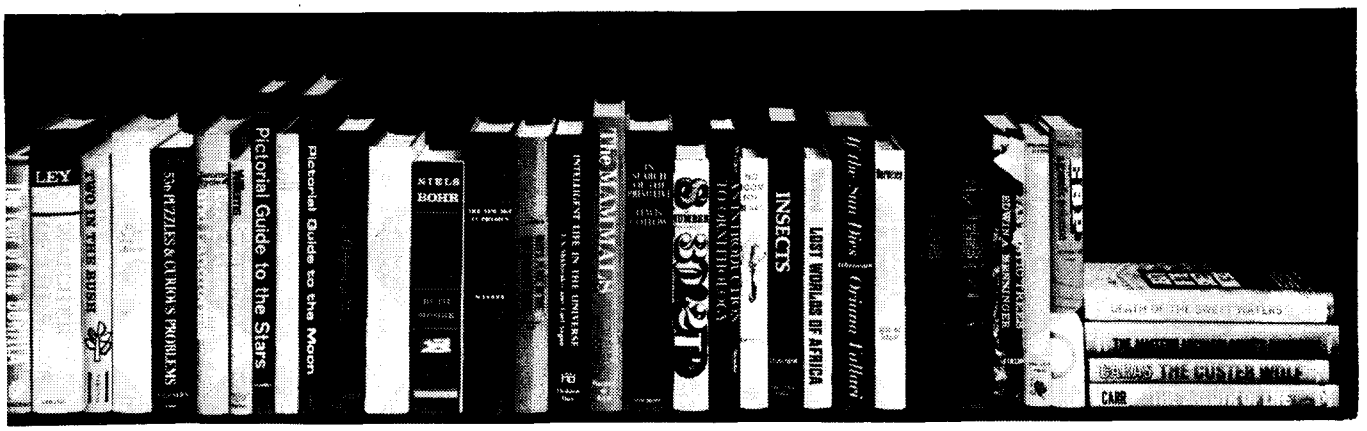

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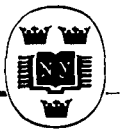

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more so as "introspective intellectual" (his phrase). But somehow, in the process, over the years, the warmth has been dissipated and in its place is an austerity not so apparent in the earlier volumes. The abyss into which civilization plunged between the two world wars had its counterpart in his life:

> "I was 40 in 1920 and 60 in 1940. The twilight was in one's private as well as in public life. . . . If one does not oneself die young, the moment comes in one's life when death begins permanently to loom in the background of life. Parents, brothers, and sisters, who were parts of one's unconscious mind and memories, die; the intimate friends of one's youth die; our loves die. Each death as it comes, so inevitable of course, but always so unexpected and so outrageous, is like a blow on the head or the heart. Into each grave goes some tiny portion of oneself."

The quotation from St. Luke at the beginning of the book announces its theme: "The herd ran violently down a steep place into the lake, and were choked." *Downhill All The Way* is a book about death – public and private deaths, and mostly the death of hope:

> "In 1914 in the background of one's life and one's mind there were light and hope; by 1918 one had unconsciously accepted a perpetual public menace and darkness and had admitted in the privacy of one's mind or soul an iron fatalistic acquiescence in insecurity and barbarism."

Together with its account of the violence done to Leonard Woolf's hopes for the world, this volume is also largely about the Hogarth Press and its remarkable, almost involuntary, success story. It is a story told with a fascinating wealth of detail and with a frankness that is rare in publishing history. From being, at first, primarily a therapeutic activity for Virginia, and then a small business with no employees but the Woolfs themselves, and with no invested capital, devoted to hand-printed works for the non-commercial market, the Hogarth Press became an eminent and prosperous publishing house. The press had been started in 1917, taking its name from the house in Richmond where the Woolfs then lived. It was the period of Virginia's worst mental crises and was a means of helping her. The first publications were the Woolf's own books and those of their friends – T. S. Eliot, Katherine Mansfield, E. M. Forster – and there was little or no profit. The change in the affairs of the Press came in 1924 when the Woolfs moved from Richmond to Bloomsbury and began to publish books of politics, sociology and psychology as well as fiction, poetry and other forms of literature. It was in that same year that the Hogarth Press began to print the novels of Vita Sackville-West and *The Collected Papers* of Sigmund Freud, both of which were to return high dividends in the years to follow. By the end of the twenties, Leonard Woolf considered himself a full-time publisher.

Money is fascinating to Mr. Woolf – his own no less than other people's. He provides a meticulous account of the financial progress of the Press, and, even more interesting, the intimate details of the progression he and Virginia made from their difficult early days to something like wealth. Virginia Woolf, a woman now accepted as one of the more important writers of her time, was 45 years old, with five novels and 25 years of work behind her, before her books earned her as much as £500 in a single year. By the 1930's, however, the income from both Virginia's writings and the output of the Hogarth Press was of a degree to provide the Woolfs with a life of comparative ease.

It is in his description of Virginia herself, her books, her mental instability, and the strains she suffered from writing and submitting her work for publication that Leonard Woolf's austerity is most in evidence. It may be the pain of recalling the event and the years that led up to it that makes his one sentence account of Virginia's death a model of detachment: "On March 28, [1941] she drowned herself in the Ouse."

Virginia Woolf's death not long after the point where this book closes and the death of his world, a world in which he believed and had hoped to better, are the focuses of this fourth volume of autobiography. As if it were impossible to end with these terrible facts, Mr. Woolf closes the book with

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a little scene which took place in the last months of peace before the Second World War:

> "We were in Rodmell during the late summer of 1939 . . . . One afternoon I was planting in the orchard under an apple-tree iris reticulata, those lovely violet flowers. . . . Suddenly I heard Virginia's voice calling to me from the sitting-room window: 'Hitler is making a speech.' I shouted back: 'I shan't come. I'm planting iris and they will be flowering long after he is dead.' Last March . . . a few of those violet flowers still flowered under the apple-tree in the orchard."

Fifty Years of Bolshevism

by Saville R. Davis

The New York Times has been one of the leaders in keeping the outside world informed about the inner workings of the Communist Revolution. From the years of Walter Duranty on down, it has been indispensable. Its latest contribution, the series of articles by members of its staff which mark the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and constitute this book, is more of the same. Its specialist reporters visited or revisited, traveled around somewhat, interviewed, observed, some with long experience and others with a fresh view, and wrote as reporters do. What news medium has done better?

The Soviet Union
The Fifty Years
edited by Harrison Salisbury
A New York Times Book
(Harcourt, Brace & World; $8.95)

They did not cover East Europe, though this is an important part of the picture. As morale climbs in the USSR, it falls in the occupied areas just outside. They wrote with overblown enthusiasm, as reporters will when they scent something new, about trends in women's affairs and architecture. The realist could say that a few examples don't make a trend and the reporter could retort that trends begin that way. They focused on change where many would think it more important to measure what did not change or to compare it with the rates and types of change elsewhere.

They were often critical but not devastating as some would want them to be. They probably preferred not to be. A newspaper has to be reasonably civil in order to get visas for its men.

But journalism, even between hard covers, is only the first stage in a long process which winds up in the histories. A good reporter tries to go below the surface as these men did. But it could damage the function that he serves to make his move too far into the role of historian, or to polish his work until it becomes too perfect for the fragments he has to make do with. Among other things, lacking the whole record, he has to take risks in fitting all of the splinters together.

The byline of a man like Harry Schwartz is absent from this volume, properly so. He and others like him have had a different function from that of direct reporting, writing as a student does from all sources that are available.

If this standard of judgment be accepted, the correspondents of the *New York Times* can be said on net balance to have done another public service of high journalistic order. At its best there is the account by Walter Sullivan of "The Death and Rebirth of a Science" – Soviet genetics. It is an engrossing narrative, including interviews with some of the participants, of what politics and ideology did to an important branch of research. Even more intriguing is the outcome: the story of how that science extricated itself.

Fred Hechinger gives a witty and trenchant description of happenings on what is elsewhere the advance guard of education, that of the preschool child. He was aware of the limits of what he was allowed to see:

> "Later in the morning I sat in the small, plain, comfortable office of Madame Sofia Borisovna Shvedova, the director of Kindergarten 67, a

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determined, soft-spoken, plumpish, middle-aged lady with an unruly shock of wiry, almost black hair. A grown-up Lenin looked benignly down from a large picture frame as Madame Shvedova said in polite but unmistakable reproach, 'I feel that the United States is neglecting the moral education of children.' . . ."

After a crackling dialogue, Hechinger comments ". . . given a chance to reform American preschool education, Madame Shvedova would prescribe exactly what the Daughters of the American Revolution would. . . ." A plunge into John Dewey had been followed by a cold bath of reaction. But "it would, however, be misleading to dwell too long on this. For the fact is that she presides over an exemplary venture in early childhood education" which he proceeds to describe and analyze.

Then:

"In today's Soviet preschool approach, the three most striking factors are a genuine love for children, a tendency toward extreme protectiveness, and early inculcation of the importance of the group . . . above the individual. Out of these basic attitudes grows Soviet society, with all its facets, good and bad, its sense of family loyalty, its considerable stoicism in the face of hardships, its conformity, and its reliance on orders and instructions."

These are samples drawn out of an extended report.

Harrison Salisbury carries the burden of direct political interviewing and analysis. He opens with "Fifty Years that Shook the World," and closes with a too brisk analysis of Soviet diplomacy. This would be painfully inadequate were it not for the fact that every chapter, whether on "How People Live" or on "The Sporting Life," whether about economics, the Jews or military affairs (Hanson Baldwin must have taken his Pentagon notes to Moscow), deals with politics, often in ways that are more revealing because they are indirect.

Mr. Salisbury concentrates on the story of the Stalin terror and how the revolution devoured its chidren. He was inevitably scooped by Stalin's daughter and he had the hardest part of the assignment. He writes colorfully – his *New York Times* pamphlet on the Soviet Union is an excellent preparation for the American tourist visiting the USSR for the first time – but he does not give the reader the impression that he questions as sharply as do some of his colleagues.

In general it could be said of the book that conclusions, when they are drawn, are less substantial than the evidence on which they are based. The sum of these conclusions appears in Mr. Salisbury's final article:

". . . Time and age and growing comfort almost certainly were beginning to tip the Soviet scales toward the Establishment side on the international scene, toward the duopower concept of world balance, toward the developed European (and capitalist) system and away from the dangerous, dark, swirling (and revolutionary) forces coming up out of Asia, out of the East, out of the new areas of the world. No one on the podium atop Lenin's tomb on November 7, 1967, would dare to admit it, but the plain honest truth was that Russia in its philosophy, in its domestic goals, in its foreign policy, was becoming more and more middle-aged, more and more middle class."

This is a smug conclusion. It is drawn from a variety of trends seen by the reporters on the advance guard of change. But these are not the whole picture. There is a powerful orthodoxy – a mix of elements that derive from communist ideology, from the Russian character and from the innate conservatism of power – which pulls against rapid change. More important, there are changes already accomplished in Soviet Society which show no sign of yielding to the new muses. For better or worse, the masses are on the move in this still revolutionary country. It is a more radical kind of egalitarianism than that of the United States. This correspondent, like those of the *Times*, found the elegant and often exquisite concert halls, theatres, palaces and art museums of the Tsars at Leningrad filled with "the masses"; so were the parks, restaurants and one-time special preserves of the wealthy. In Uzbekistan the thirst of the younger generation for becoming educated, and their hard work and proficiency, was likewise impressive, as long as political education was left to one side. In Moscow, talks with Soviet specialists on foreign affairs showed none of the characteristics of Western middle-class society. The USSR is adding to its revolutionary base and correcting what it conceives to have been abuses of dictatorship, rather than changing its spots to the degree suggested by Mr. Salisbury.

Middle-class values are also under attack in the West. It will be interesting to see which society finds something better, first and more successfully.

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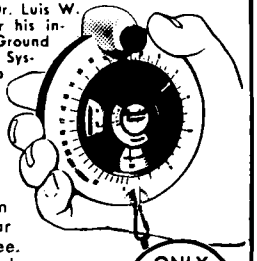

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The first review is in on I. F. STONE'S *In A Time of Torment*

"America has never been blessed with a great many first-rate political journalists. It's an ephemeral art, almost like that of the entertainer. 'He was a New Dealer when that was the road to power, he became a conservative when that was the way to stay in.' This is I. F. Stone on Johnson, and the remark combines Stone's two gifts, accuracy of judgment and pithiness in phrasing. Stone began covering Washington during the Roosevelt years. He's a seasoned performer, and though there's been a marked mellowing in his own ideological stance, Stone remains basically a radical ('One saw that for the lower third of our society, white as well as black, the search for answers must lead them back – though Americans still start nervously at the very word – toward socialism') – but a radical quite without Jacobin sympathies.

"Indeed, engaged and humane as Stone is, what he finds truly upsetting is the moral muddle of our times, the inane chicanery of our leaders, the obtuseness of their vision. Like an enlightened conservative, he warns us of the deluge: 'We are, let us remember, the rich man in a huge hemispheric slum' – and the audience nods and does nothing. Malcolm X, Vietnam, China: the reportage is shrewd, lively, combative, completely readable. Yet there's an underlying mournful strain, as if Stone doubted now the power of common sense or 'facts'."—*Kirkus' Service*

This book presents the best of I. F. Stone's pieces written over the last five years. It goes beyond being a chronicle of Mr. Stone's journalism. It is an incisive view of the Kennedys and Lyndon Johnson, Senator Fulbright and Curtis LeMay, Hubert Humphrey and Malcolm X, and other significant political figures of the Left, Right, and Center – who they are, what they want, and how their strengths and weaknesses affect the quality of our times.

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Shooting Them Up

The trouble with talking about Richard Lester's *How I Won the War* as an anti-war movie is that while it may be one of the most effective ever made, that doesn't begin to say anything about its real brilliance, and may even obscure it. I have a feeling that despite certain flaws Lester's new film is going to be important for some time to come as a source of ideas and possibilities for film art, while its subject, or target, is going to matter less and less. Very much unlike *Dr. Strangelove*, whose theme and ideological set are the only things that stay in memory, *How I Won the War* is a permanent accession to the imagination and one more demonstration of the way the art of the movies has become the imagination's chief bulwark against the era's chaos and terrors.

How I Won the War
(United Artists)

War is there alright, and Lester's attitude towards it, as well as that of his screenwriter, the British playwright Charles Wood (who based his work on a novel by Patrick Ryan), has very much to do with the cinematic choices and maneuvers. But these aesthetic actions are not simply in the service of the attitude; Lester hasn't composed a work whose usefulness will be for a peace drive or for a putsch against prevailing political or social structures, but one whose relevance is to the way war, or any phenomenon of violence, dishonesty and evil, proceeds in its usurpation of truth and consciousness. And it shows this by extending the possibilities of the film as creator of counter-statements, fecund myths whose weight may be used against all the destructive ones. In this sense the picture is less against war than it is for the life of dignity through consciousness.

On the surface, the film is in the traditions of the satiric tale about a sad-sack outfit blundering its way through combat and of the indigenously British portrait of military pomposity and absurd, official esprit de corps. A rag-tag detachment of British soldiers under an Oxbridge lieutenant of appalling callowness and ferocious naïveté moves out on a hare-brained mission to set up an "advanced cricket pitch" in the North African desert. From there, after fighting every inch of the way against any recognizable military achievement, they move to the European front, where most of them die without having satisfied their only real ambition: to kill their abominable young officer. It is he who "tells" the story in the form of his reminiscences, which includes his dialogue, intercut with the main action, with a philosophical Nazi officer in a German prison camp. The two make a deal whereby the German turns over the last remaining bridge across the Rhine in return for a worthless check for 19,000 pounds, which is the way our hero "won" the war.

Insofar as it moves along these levels of possible satire and ironic investigation, the movie is as effective as most things in its line, if not something truly astonishing. A good amount of the foolery and the explicit jokes are predictable – recruits march off in all directions during close-order drill, officers are shown gravely swapping bubble-gum war cards – but at least as much of it is new and deft. Verbally, the humor is often characterized by a Beatles-like knowing innocence (John Lennon, playing a private, is the only actual Beatle in the film but certain flavors of *A Hard Day's Night* are strongly detectable throughout). "We're all going to die under funny names," someone says, a remark which can serve beautifully as the entire work's motto and imaginative rallying cry.

The portrait of the lieutenant is a complex creation, drawing some of its elements from an expected vein of legend – the gung ho young fool whose less educated men are much wiser than he, etc. – but entering something far deeper and more resonant. A gangling, fresh-faced, "lovable" youth, he is the terrifying incarnation of received idealism and of absolute solipsistic evalua-

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tion of the world, the stuff of which it might be said lieutenants have perennially been made. "They're the nicest things that have ever happened to me," he says of his officer's pips. "Our first real victory!" he exults after his men have shot down a British plane, "one of ours of course but still our first real victory." Later, as his parodic uses are modulated into a profoundly cynical construction, he tells his German friend: "I'm not sorry about my men . . . they all had the same faces . . . there it was for them, a crusade against tyranny . . . and they didn't respond."

What makes the movie so radically contemporary, however, is not so much a matter of advanced cynicism or disabused political stance as of an aesthetic consciousness trained searchingly on all the sanctified modes of talking about war in film and film art.

Thus Lester makes continual use of war movies of many kinds, for purposes more extreme than satire. The nutty band of Britishers marches into the camp of a much larger force of Germans and cows them by its energetic whistling of the theme song from *The Bridge on the River Kwai*. A beat-up truck rolls over the desert to the tune of the principal music from *Lawrence of Arabia*. Colonel Blimp is on continual display. And in a far subtler movement, a serious, *thoughtful* film like *Grand Illusion* is mocked in its claim to present a vision above the battle through being parodied in the lieutenant's verbally sophisticated traffic with his German officer friend. By these actions Lester keeps himself from merely telling another "story," whose effectiveness will depend on what we already think or feel, or wish to be told, about war, and instead is enabled to tell a story about story-telling, about the way war, or anything important in our lives, is prevented from reaching our imaginations in its true lineaments by being continually proffered in the shape of consoling myths.

Lester employs two other related techniques for preventing his film from becoming either outright satire (a genre which has pretty well been exhausted in regard to war) or mere, bizarre, wised-up modern movie sport, and for moving it to a level of new, arresting cinematic statement. Neither is wholly original – echoes of Fellini, Truffaut,

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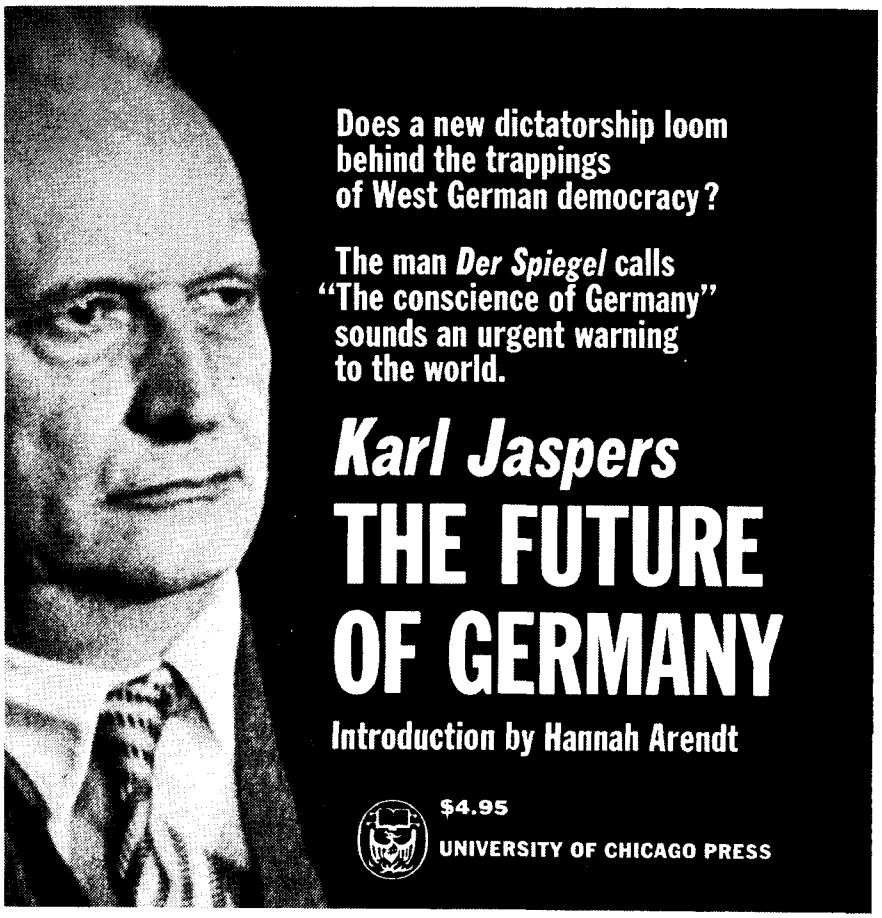
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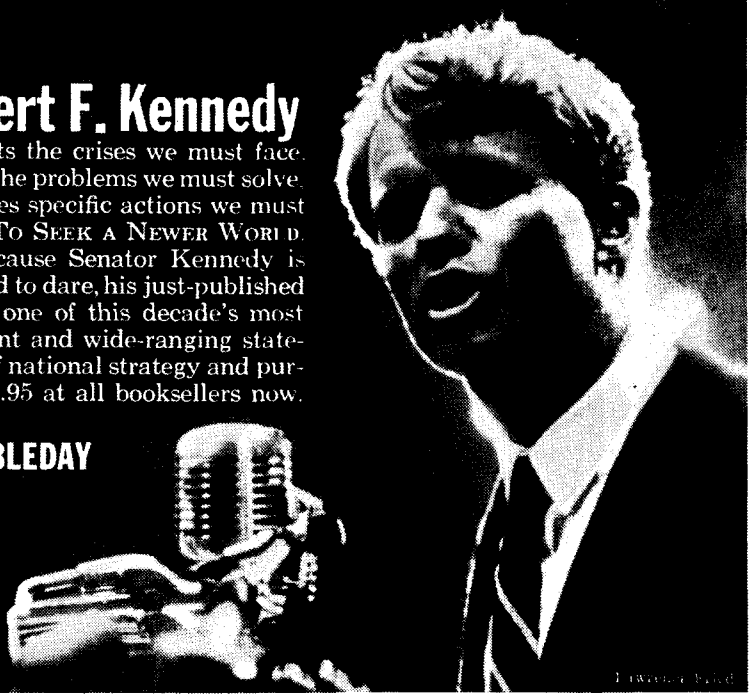

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Renais, Godard and others sound from time to time – yet in his hands most of the borrowings become organic and justified.

His actors are never asked to impersonate "characters" in the double sense of being members of a dramatis personae charged with advancing a preordained narrative line and of constituting a gallery of democratically conceived personalities in action: hero, coward, lover, fat man, bully, such as compose the casts of more war movies than one wants to remember. Differentiated from one another as it suits their director, they nevertheless are allowed to engage in sudden atypical and inconsistent actions, speaking out of turn, snatching up outlandish costumes and objects as though from an obliging wardrobe mistress and prop man, stepping out of the film to address the audience, being actor-like and self-consciously amateurish by turns. (With such freedom and yet purpose, the performances are almost uniformly unfailing, although for their greater complexity one would have to single out those of Lennon, Roy Kinnear, Michael Hordern, Jack MacGowran and Michael Crawford as the lieutenant.)

This continual breaking up of the fictitious and the parabolic receives its most vigorous impulse from Lester's brilliant use of newsreel sequences from World War II. On a minimal base of actual footage he has constructed extraordinarily convincing imitations of some famous scenes – the beach at Dunkirk, the decimated commandos returning from Dieppe – into which the fictionalized "characters" blend. These sequences have enormous impact, not because they are offered in contrast to the invented story, the real chastening the imagined, but because as history they also are seen to be imaginary now, legends of the late war, and can only recover their actuality through insertion in a process of conscious art-making, in much the same way as legendary modern industrial products have assumed a new and revived reality in pop art. In a masterly stroke Lester completes the intercourse between history and art by having figures from the "newsreels," soldiers painted in the pink or green or sepia colors in which the se-

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quences were shown, join the fictitious characters as additions to their ranks.

The effect is to change our perception of both art and history. The real men died and were taken up into art and now the imaginary men will die and be assumed into reality. As he sits on the ground with blood issuing shockingly from his stomach, Lennon tells us, "you didn't expect this, did you?" What we hadn't expected was that all along the film was preparing to be more real than its subject, through its liberating manipulation of lies, its plundering of history so as to invent it again and so as to prevent it from continuing to invent, and therefore to justify, itself. Near the end, one of the revenants from a newsreel sequence remarks to another that "there's a new war shaping up in Vietnam, do you think you'll be in it?" To which the reply is, "No, I don't like the director."

A film that takes as many risks as this one is bound to have shortcomings, and they may amount in some eyes to enough to constitute disenchantment. One source of a negative reaction would be Lester's hyper-fertility, his jack-rabbity proliferation of gestures and events. There are times when your attention is shredded by too much business, or occluded by rapid-fire and incoherent transitions from one mode of cinematic discourse to another. Beyond this, the film suffers from an occasional glibness, a lack of full concentration on the exactly right thing instead of the merely workable thing, and, even more centrally, from an incomplete emotional commitment to its materials. Yet build the case against it as strongly as you can, *How I Won the War* survives any indictment. It pays the costs of newness but Lester's work makes a reputedly revolutionary film like *Bonnie and Clyde*, for example, seem traditional and unadventurous indeed.

RICHARD GILMAN

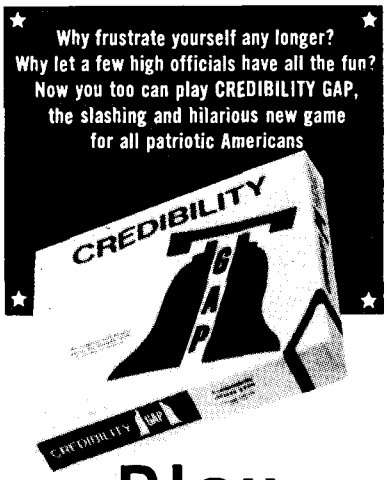
TELEVISION

Ford-Fueled Controversy

Public TV got off to a good start November 5, a few days before President Johnson signed the Public Broadcasting Act, when the Public Broadcast Laboratory, the forerunner of what may eventually become a full-fledged noncommercial network, spent the two and a half hours of its first broadcast hammering home the bitterness of black men's struggle. Then, on the following Sunday the PBL slowed to a walk with a dutiful look at two subjects familiar to the literate, though not before exposed on TV – inadequate meat inspection, and Madison Avenue packaging and polishing of politicians. The best thing in that second broadcast was a somber parody within a parody, disguised as a resume of an apocryphal book, *Report from Iron Mountain: On the Possibility and Desirability of Peace*, which satirizes survival-beyond-doomsday. The PBL countered the book's suggestion that nuclear holocaust might be preferable to economic collapse. Herman Kahn was then interviewed by PBL and showed himself a good sport. But he turned up too late in the game for Jack Gould, *The New York Times*' TV man, who said Kahn should have been told it was a put-on before the show started, and not "after the TV screen had been used to register a one-sided [!] emotional impact."

The satire was fine, but the second Sunday seemed dull after the fire and the élan of the premiere. The main event of that first program – an inter-and-intra-racial confrontation taped last summer in a small TV studio in Chicago – was enough to indicate what public TV might contribute to the medium, to journalism, and to the nation's understanding. It broke new ground. No commercial station or network would have dared to run it.

Prologue to the confrontation was a film commissioned by PBL from Russell Meek, a sardonic poet who has adopted the attitudes along with the Berber cap of black nationalism. Meek was given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REP 1

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complete control over the film, a conducted tour of Chicago's West Side ghetto of which he is product.

After this glimpse of the ghetto as seen from within, the encounter began. Among the hundred or so people who had been picked supposedly at random but certainly by an astute casting director and crowded into the little room were several of the representative types, or stereotypes, of each embattled race: the Uncle Tom hell preacher, reminiscent of James Baldwin's father; the educated black bourgeois, torn between King and Carmichael; the spitfire street boy; the beige lady civil rights lawyer, pleading for an end to emasculation, and, among the whites, the wan woman from Winnetka who said she had been "100 per cent for the Negroes" before the riots; the lady Salvation Army worker, crowing over the marriage of her daughter to a Negro as if this one act was the vindication of America; the shrill young woman who had scrubbed her way out of Meek's ghetto and didn't see why others couldn't do likewise.

Into this tinderbox the producers had thrown a firebrand, Meek in person. What he had to say had been said before, by Stokely Carmichael, by Rap Brown, by Malcolm X, by Muhammad Elijah. But what his diatribe provoked in the crowded room were scenes that perhaps no one had seen anywhere before: the humiliation of the hell-preacher by the tremulous street boy, who had asked the gospeller if he intended to die on his knees (later, after the battle had shifted to another part of the room, the preacher could be seen sneaking out, briefcase in hand); the lady from Winnetka (or was it the lady from Evanston – in the heat of the encounter, dim identities became less distinct) begging punishment for her race with a quote from Plato to the effect that "my oppressing you hurts me worse than it does you."

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There were no signs of any editing of the tape, although the session must have continued beyond what we saw of it. What was communicated as nowhere else was the reciprocal incomprehension of white and black.

Yet Jack Gould, in the course of a patronizing and obtuse review of the PBL premiere, deplored the laboratory's "disregard of the hard pursuit of information in favor of surface emotion," as if the gathering of facts and quotes in the manner of *The New York Times* could do much to illuminate matters as psychologically complex and murky as the racial situation in this country.

The off-Broadway play that concluded PBL's first show, Douglas Turner Ward's *Day of Absence*, was a minstrel show in reverse. A Negro Ensemble Company, in whiteface, showed the inability of Southern whites to stand on their own feet or even remain coherent when deprived of their colored hired hands.

Gould, obtuse as ever, said the whiteface acting stripped the play of credibility. It probably added to it, in heightening the absurdity of the race situation, and in reinforcing our impression that no one knows the segregationist better than do "his Nigras," or any Negro. The actors symbolically murdered their ancient enemy by robbing him even of his face.

A score of educational stations in the South refused to carry the PBL premiere broadcast. A number of other educational stations cut out a few minutes of the live telecast, minutes given to debunking aspirin and cigarette pitches. One of the "anti-commercials" pointed out that private-label aspirin is as good as the heavily-advertised brands which sell for several times more; the other kidded the "new, longer" cigarettes which not only last longer but have "more tar, more nicotine" and more of other health hazards than do shorter cigarettes.

Even before its first broadcast, the PBL had come under BB-gun fire. One shot came from a TV advertising promoter, Norman Cash, the head of the Television Bureau of Advertising, an industry group, who demanded the FCC require PBL to give the ridiculed aspirin and cigarette advertisers equal time to respond to the parodies. (On the air after the aspirin debunker, PBL invited "responsible" rebuttal; the FCC said there were no grounds for giving advertisers equal time.)

Another pot shot came from *Broadcasting*, a trade journal, which suggested that the reason PBL did not run a spoof of automobile commercials was because the experiment is financed by the Ford Foundation. (A spokesman for the Ford Foundation said there was no concern for the welfare of the Ford Motor Company either at the Foundation or the laboratory.) *Broadcasting* did not forget to mention that an aspirin maker, Bristol-Myers, and a cigarette maker, Philip Morris, had given money to educational TV stations, but did not apparently consider this fact as an indication of PBL's independence. The donations may explain why some educational stations carrying the PBL premiere blacked out the anti-commercials.

The skirmishing, the nitpicking, the occasional squeal of alarm that will be heard Monday after Monday this winter and spring as the 25 Sunday broadcasts of the PBL run their course will be trifling compared to the grand donnybrook anticipated next fall when Congress debates ways to finance the fourth network envisaged in the Public Broadcasting Act.

The debate will seem to center on which of the means so far proposed, whether an excise tax on new TV sets, a tithe on commercial broadcasters' profits, or the rental to the commercial networks of channels in a domestic satellite to be owned by Public TV, may be the best way to provide the money for the fourth network. Once the $10 million Ford grant and the $9 million in Federal "seed" money allocated in the new Act to carry PBL through its second year have been used up, it may take $250 million or more a year to run and program the fourth network. (That's less than a tenth of the current revenues of the commercial broadcasters.)

But much of the debate will stem from attempts by the broadcasting lobby to keep the fourth network from coming into being, or failing that, to keep Public TV down to the level of Educational TV, a poor relation of commercial TV, and far below the heights to which the PBL has already indicated the public network might rise.

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The commercial broadcasters, despite official protestations of goodwill to Public TV, see it as a threat, and with good reason. In the past couple of years, millions of Americans who had been supinely addicted to what T. H. Adorno a decade ago isolated as "the TV narcotic" have managed, perhaps out of boredom, to shake off the habit, and the generation which has known TV from infancy tends to ignore it on reaching puberty. With the further attrition of the commercial audience that is likely with the fourth network, many advertisers may decide to put their money elsewhere.

Cynics have suggested that commercial broadcasters have hopes that Public TV would relieve them of an exacting and sometimes unprofitable responsibility for a minimum of "public service" programming. The advent of Public TV will not make the FCC's "public service" requirement obsolete; even if it did, most broadcasters would not want to throw out something that enhances their respectability. Their status would be threatened, however, if the public network were to show how poor a job the commercial networks and stations do in communicating some impression of reality.

Even when a network news department tackles a so-called "controversial" subject – any issue on which there is much disagreement – the result is often crippled by the strict observance of the cult of objectivity, the insistence that every viewpoint be included. The cult, which makes for bland, pointless journalism, seems to be a shibboleth only among broadcast newsmen; to a degree seldom encountered in the press, fear of advertiser reprisal not only leads broadcasters to an abhorrence of adopting a point of view on any subject, but often makes them shy away from any coverage of real controversy.

A more obvious inadequacy of commercial TV is the very limited time given by networks and stations to news. When Av Westin, executive director of PBL, asked the networks to give him clips each week of their best pieces of reporting or comment, he had something more in mind than the further dissemination of the brighter remarks of Eric Sevareid, William Lawrence, or David Brinkley. According to a PBL source, Westin intended to use network news items as leads, and then proceed to tell the rest of the story.

Every minute of the PBL broadcasts will come under the most intense scrutiny by the enemies of public TV. Attempts will be made both in Congress (the mutual regard between scores of legislators and broadcasting interests has never been fully appreciated) and in the press (few big city dailies are unrelated to TV station ownership) to surround the notion of Public TV with the bogeys of socialism, Big Brotherism, and even subversion. AT&T may have a message of its own to communicate before long, if the satellite channel-rental scheme were to be chosen as the way to finance PTV: the telephone monopoly, in that case, would stand to lose the hundreds of millions a year it gets from the commercial networks for interconnection. AT&T incidentally, chose not to waive its right to charge PBL the full rate for the experimental inter-connection; the hookup this year alone will cost PBL about $1 million, or a tenth of its operating budget, and more than that if many of the Sunday evening broadcasts go beyond a precise two-hour limit as the premiere did. A minute or two into a third hour, and the full hour rate is charged.

Against the inevitability of formidable opposition to Public TV, a National Citizens' Committee for Public TV is setting up local branches around the country in order to get more people to pressure Congress to ease the advent of the fourth network.

As Western history goes, it is very late in the day for the beginning of an adequate TV service in the US, the only advanced Western industrial nation that has no national network not given over almost entirely to ballyhoo. The late Dr. Allen B. Du Mont, who has been called "the Father of Television" in recognition of his development of the cathode ray tube, and who in the forties started a commercial TV network that later became part of ABC-TV, told a Cornell audience in 1961 that he felt like a Frankenstein and urged that government take a hand in the creation of a non-commercial TV network, lest the depravity that had overwhelmed his creation continue to go unchecked in the land.

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Correspondence

Europe Minus America

Sirs:

I read with great interest your lead article in the October 21 edition, entitled "Europe Minus America."

While agreeing in substance with the views presented, your reference to the study of August 14 issued by the House Republican Committee on Western Alliances imparts some misleading implications. A careful reading of the report will show that the Committee is well aware that "reshuffling NATO command positions," and installing a European SACEUR, does not in itself measure up to the real issues behind NATO's decline. The major thrust of the Committee's statement is that the NATO structure must be thoroughly reformed – and not just in mechanical terms. We emphasized that to survive as something meaningful, NATO must be reshaped *politically* in order to accomodate the changing concerns and interests of our European allies.

This has by now almost become a cliché, except in Administration circles. The State Department persists in clinging to the post-war status quo, oblivious to the new currents of opinion abroad. *Paul Findley*
US House of Representatives

Future of Germany

Sirs:

In his review of Jaspers' *Future of Germany* (November 11), Terence Prittie treats Jaspers' indictment of the Federal Republic as so peculiar and obviously wrongheaded that it could hardly be endorsed by any serious student of the subject. I would submit, on the contrary, that it is in fact endorsed both by older men with an anti-Nazi record like Martin Niemoeller and by many, many younger men. In the latter category I would like to call the attention of *NR* readers to Hans Magnus Enzensberger and specifically to his article "The Writer and Politics," *The Times Literary Supplement* (London, September 28, 1967).

Eric Bentley
New York, N.Y.

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